HFM 109

H-FM

EXTRACTS

From: the "MAIL"

(on various topics)

1901 – 19[illegible]

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"1901 – 1947"

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On the subject of Police reform in Ind which we are likely to hear a great deal in the for it is a reform that the Viceroy has pledged to tackle, Mr. Ananda Charlu has a good deal to s and his experience as a Criminal Lawyer gives so weight to his remarks. There is, of course, no g over the fact that the character of the lower polic longely a mere reflection of the character of the l classes of the population. The Indian Police man colour from his surroundings, and it is impossible believe that his misdoings would he as bad and as prevalemt as they are asseted to be if there was a re indignant and generally honest population against the But where the difference and the distinction comes in i in the fact that the police are vested with authority, and are thereby placed in a position to do special harm the name of authority. Hence the abuse of their power so widely railed against. This abuse of power is used to som times for obtaining mobery and sometimes for securin appolation for smartness and detective ability from departme superiors Mr. Charlu seems content to attribute the whole evil to the latter consideration. The obvious remedy is an increase of legitmate pay. The remedy for 'make a neme ' his in the hands of the departmental superiors.

1901.

HIGH COURT APPOINTMENTS.

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The appointment that has most interest for adras is that of Sir V. Bhasyam Iyengar to permanently to the Vacancy caused by the retire- r. Sheppard. This is the first time that two dges have had seats on the Bench of the Madras t, and we have no doubt that the appointment hailed with acclamation as giving effect to the endations of the Public Service Commission, which d that the number of Judges selected from the vincial Service, or from Advocates or Pleaders of e High Court, should be increased in the case of the alcutta High Court to three Native Judges and in the of Bombay and Madras to two. In regard to Madras, ever, it was accompanied by the recommendation that the increase should only take place in the event of the strength of the Court being raised to six Judges. We have had a Bench of Six Judges since the appointment of Mr. Justice Boddam; but at that time the Secretary of State declared that the appointment was a temporary one and was liable to be absorbed on a permanent vacancy occurring. The appointment of Sir V. Bhasyam Iyengar, as a permanent Judge, therefore, indicates that the sixth Judgeship is not to be absorbed yet awhile at any rate. Sri V. Bhaysam Iyengars elenation to the Bench is in every way Commondable, and will undoubtedly strethen the High Court in many ways. He has already acted in the High Court, and has produced an excellent impossion as a Jud He has long been far and away the most

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EXTRACTS FROM THE "MAIL"

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THE CORONATION CELEBRATIONS.

...

3rd January 1903.

Newyears Day of 1903 will long be remembered throughout the length and breadth of the Madras Presidency, for in every town, and we might even go so far as to say in every willage, there have been demonstrations in honour of the Proclamation of His Majesty as Emperor of India. This Presidency has always been conpinous for the loyalty of its inhabitants, and on every occasion of rejoicing, such as the Jubilee, the Golden Jubilee, and now the Proclamation of the King as Emperor, it has shown in an unmistakable manner that its people are united in a common bond of loyalty, the expression of which they are ever ready to proclaim in a manner that does justice both to their heads and their hearts. By every post we are receiving piles of letters on the subject of rejoicing while the telegraph signallers are also being kept very busy in transcribing the concise reports of the demonstrations in other parts of the Country which, if more distant from head quarters, are not a whit behind the Presidency city in their loyalty to the King Emperor and big lovely and gracious Queen. ~~Portraits~~ Patriots of their Majesties in every conceivable setting, from life sized transparance down to the smallest printed sheets, have been set up throughout the country, or have been taken in procession, with due formulities, along the principal streets, appropriate mottoes expressive of the goodwill of the people towards their begelord have arrested attention in every quarter; ~~arches~~ arches of more or less pretentionsness have spanned the through faces, flags and banners have flown bravely from every vantage point and decorated the sides of the road for miles on end; ~~papers~~ prayers have been offered

up for the long life, happiness and health of their Mejesties; the poor have been fed, the naked clothed in award, everything was done to render the occasion one of joy gladness. And there is no doubt whatever that the 1st will long remain a red-letter day in the minds of the millions of this Country.

THE TRICHINOPOLY SHOOTING CASE.
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28th April, 1903.

It may have been a but of a puzzle to some of our readers how the man Emerson, who is "Wanted" in connection with his deplorable case, could be styled a "Fugitive offender". He had been put up for trial before the Magistrate of the District in which the Forest watcher received the Gundshot wound, and discharged. As a man this pro tante' proclaimed innacently the only tribunal before which he had then been called upon ~~the~~ to appear, be rejoined his regiment, he took his discharge, was given the freepassage to which he was entitled, and left the Country, along, no doubt, with many another time expired soldier. Superior authority questioned the correctness of the Magistrates finding, and the High Court at Madras was moved on behalf of the Government of India to interfere in the matter. This it did, and of the three men accused or implicated by the Forest watcher, twodench and have, pespectively, being still in India appeared on notice. No case was found to lie against dutch and he was not tried again; have was tried, and acquitted by a special Jury. And then the Law Officer ~~of~~ for the Crown in charge of the matter applied for a warrent against Emerson as a "Fugitive offender".

Now, the Fugitive offender Act is a Statute enacted in 1881, and applied to the East Indies in 1885, and to other parts of the Empire in other years, Section 2 of this Act/~~reems~~ runs as follows.

"where a person accused of having committed an offence (to which this part of the Act applies) in one part of His Majesty's Dominions has left that part, such person 'in this Act referred to as a fugitive from that part) iffound in another part of Her Majesty's Dominions, shall be liable to be apprehended and returned in a manner provided by this Act to the part from which he is a fugitive".

It may seem strange that, as Emerson was discharged by the District Magistrate and not found guilty "of having committed the offence" of which he was accused, this Act should now be held to apply to him. But presumably he was, technically, re-accused when the High Court ruled that he must show cause why his acquittal should not be set aside, and he should not be tried again. And as he had "left that part" in which his alleged offence was committed, the letter of the section we have quoted justifies the contention that the man is now a "Fugutive offender", and this although he had not, as we understand, been if informed of the High Courts order for a retrial before he "left the part" of His Majestry's Dominions known as British India, or the East Indies.

The episode accured when the unfortunate watcher Kumaroodum sustained such grievous hurt is one of which the true facts must, if possible, be ascertained. In this case, a Forest watcher receives a gunshot wound and other injurries in broad daylight and is left entirely unassisted by the party one of when carried the gun which caused the wound. The

party may not have been the one Kumroadeen named; the gun may have gone off accidentally, the watchers head may have been hurt by a fall; but it is difficult to understand how any true-hearted Englishman, a soldiar of good enough character to be granted a shooting pass, should have left the unfortunate victim of these accidents to shift for himself, and gone away from the spot without rendering or sending, help. Every one throughout the Country must spare the conviction entertained by the highest authority in the land that no store should be left unturned in the effort to discover the truth. And no class of persons, we are sure, desire this more frequently that the soldiers, of our King serving in this country.

THE CONGRESS.
***

14th December 1903.

The Madras Congress committee has issued the draft resolution to be proposed at the Meeting of the Congress, which assembles on the 28th instant. and the most important point of view, is the constitution of this body. For some years the leading members of the Congress in the several provinces have been much exercised over the question of providing a constitution, and some attempts have been made during the past four years to give practical shape to their desire. In 1899 some sort of a constitution was agreed upon, but it was rendered inoperative in the course of the next two years, and since then there has been a split in the camp, the Punjab members having practically seceded from the movement, as they considered that they had been very badly treated over this question, in which they had taken or keen interest. The present attempt of the Madras Committee to revive the question has created great interest in Congress circles and it is hoped that some workable scheme will be agreed upon and brought into force from next year.

The following nine subjects will engage the attention of the Congress this year:- The Legislative Councils, increasing assessment, the Universities But, the Public Service Commission, Military expenditure, the official secrets Bill, Indian Emigrants, the Madras Municipal Bill and the Agricultural Banks Bill. With regard

to the Indian Legislative Councils, the resolution states that the time has arrived for their reconstitution on the basis of a wider representation and of more enlarged powers. So far, the present enlarged Councils have in all Provinces been declared to be a success, but as to whether the time has arrived for a further enlargement is a matter about which there will not be the same assurance outside congress circles. With reference to "increasing assessment", the Congress will again press for an extension of the Permanent Settlement to such parts of the Country as one ripe for it and urge the imposition of judicial restrictions on over assessments, in those parts where Government may still deam it inadmisable to extend the Permanent Settlement. But after the recent minute enquiry and Report of the Government of India it is doubtful whether any practical good will result from this resolution. From the exhaustive Resolution on the Universities Bill a great deal of adverse criticism may be anticipated. The Congress will again agitate for the employment of Indians in Longer numbers in the higher appointments in the various departments of states and will place on record its regret that the recommendations of the Public Service Commission have not been given adequate effect to. The Official Secrets Bill is viewed with entire disapproval by the Congress, which considers it "uncalled for, against the interests of the public and dangerous to individual liberty and retrograde in policy". The Government are therefore to be approached witha request to confine the scope of the Bill to the disclosure of Naval and Military secrets.

THE INDIAN CONGRESS.
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DATED:-
28th December, 1903.

The 19th Indian Congress opened today at Spring Gardens, Teynampet, whena large gathering of delegates and visitors was present to hear the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahmed Sahib Bahadur, the Chairman of the Receiption Committee, deliver the Address of Welcome in which, as was only to be expected, he took an early opportunity of disclaiming that, in this Presidency at least, the Mahomedans had conflicting interests, with the other communities represented by the Congress, a point that is always insisted on in some of the other provinces. The speech was graceful if rather platitudnous Mr. Lal Makeen Ghose was then formally installed as President of the ensuing Session and proceeded to deliver his inagural address, a long and exceedingly able statement, criticising public affairs from an "opposition" point of view. If it smacked too much of an English electioneering address, that was perhaps only natural from X one the Chief Incident of whose political life has been his Election conpaign for the constituency of deptford in 1884. For the first two years after the starting of the Congress, he was apromonent leader and orator in the Congress cause.

In recent years, however, he has been in retirement evidently a keen and watchful student of public events and public utterances, both in India and at Home. In his criticisms he cannot be accused of "sugaring the full" for his political opponents now, whatever may have been the case in the earlier stages of his career, His condemnation of the Delhi Durbar as a senseless waste of money "when famine and pestilence were stalking over the land and the Angel of Death was flapping his wings almost within hearing

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of the light-heatted renellers" is purely petorical and exaggerated. In this connection he went on the point out that instead of achieving the object for which it was started, as far as the Native Chiefs were concerned, ir miserably comes in for notice, but the merits of the question are rather subordinated to invective directed against the author of the scheme. The official secrets Act and the universities Bill come in for criticism of a very able description, and with much of that directed against the former measure it will be possible to concur most heartily. Incidentally, he touched on the question of the territotial redistribution in Bengal and the Madras Municipal Bill, and in an doquent peroation dwelt on the Congress being too well established and too successful for its"raison d'etre" to be questioned at this stage of its existence.

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EXTRACT FROM THE "MADRAS MAIL".

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THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

...

27th May, 1904.

The 20th Madras Provincial Conference, which terminated on yesterday at Ranipet, was attended by a fairly large number of delegates and visitors, and many speeches were made on topics of provincial interest. Devan Bahadur K. Krishnaswamy Rao, C.I.E., the late Devan of Travancore, as President, and the Hon'ble ~~Mr.~~ M.L.A., Govindaraghava Iyer as Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivering addresses which were worthy of themselves and of the accassion. The subjects selected for consideration by the Conference were much the same as at previous sessions, and agricultural and industrial education, the education of the masses, primary education of the backward classes, Land assessments, local self-Government, the expansion of the Legislative Councils, and Hindu religious Endowments furnished them for inumerable speeches. But little or nothing now, as was to be expected, was forthcoming, these subjects having been thrashed out, if not done to death, at previous Congress and Conferences. To a casual visitor at a Congress or Conference Meeting the scene presented is one of much enthusiasm, and is seemingly characterised by a spirit of Union and Cooperation among the delegates. But it is notorisons that this enthusiasm and spirit of union and cooperation are eppemeral, as the delegates assemble in comparatively large numbers, and most of them, after indulging in more or less frothy declamations, dispense with the comforting conviction that they have done their duty by their country by the lip service they have rendered.

Nearly all the resolutions adopted at these gatherings entail no sort of responsibility on the leaders and their

followers, who carry them so unanimously without, sumingly thinking of the possibility of the existence of another side to the questions discussed. The few resolutions for the practical execution of which the so-called leaders are responsible are carried. With equal unanimity, but no thought seems to be subsequently devoted to them, and the leaders do not reproach themselves for their dereliction of duty but return to the charge, after the lapse of another year and again take the Government to task for not giving effect to this many impractical and impracticable suggestions for reform. In this connection, we will refer to one matter in order to make the point clear. The Conference at Ranopet adopted a Resolution emphasising the importance of agriculture, and, in view of "the depressed condition of the industries of the country", payed the Government "to elaborate at an early date, and give effect to, a definite scheme of agricultural and technical education suited to the needs of the Presidency". That this is a highly desirable reform no one will deny. But what assistance do Indian Congress and Conference politicians render Government in carrying out the objects of their resolutions? Most educated Indians systematically detach their sons from the land in order to give them a literary training, with the object of enabling them to obtain posts under Government on to practise at the Bar.

"Indian agriculture", observed Dr. J.A. Voelcker, the agricultural expert, "is not regarded as a profession but too often as a medium for deriving an income off the land; owners of land do not took after their property themselves but

leave it to the cate of superintendents and prefer to make movey in the towns. The Young man, after receiving his education, seldom goes back to the farm, but soon sees that the best chance of utilising his education is at the Bar or in Government employ". A well-to-do landed position of Madura informed Dr. Voelcker that the Indian sends his cleverest son to the Bar, the next into Government service, while the doublest is left to resort to agriculture or trade. Such is, the attitude of the great majority of educated Indians, towards agriculture, and yet Government are called upon to formulate and give early effect to a scheme of agricultural and technical education which is at once elaborate, definite and suted to the needs of the Presidency. Educated Indians do not, as a class, for these are honourable exceptions ewince any real interest in agriculture on in the agricultural classes, except by way of making speeches prescribing what they wrongly conceived to be a paraca for all the agriculturists Bills. Beyond doing this, they do not seem to realise that they have any other responsibility. Words, not deeds, seems to be their matto.

The same lack of practical interest characterises the work of the educated section as a class in connection with other measures intended for the amelioration of the masses. We do not set any, value upon Resolutions adopted at these gatherings which fix no responsibility on their ~~aut~~ authors, and those who so glibly and unanimously adopt them. If the undoubted, though evanscent, e t enthusiasm and earnestness of purpose which mark the utterances of these public men became permanent traits

of their character and resulted in practical measures of some sort intended for the advancement of the masses, they would prove a power for good in the cause of progress and civilisation in this Country. True patriots can render X no better service to the Country through the instrumentality of Congresses and Conferences than by awakening genuine enthusiasm in the people, for high, noble and royal efforts, and by directing it into, and keeping it in, proper and useful channals, Only when such patriotic and sincere motives are allowed to actuate the leaders of political movements in India, will Congress and Conferences play a great and useful part in the schemes of constructive reforms undertaken by Government. At present, these gatherings often result in the creation of restlessness and discontent among the people, who, at the same time, have no very clear conception of what tjeir grievances are om whether the remedial measures suggested in their name are likely to be productive of benefit to themselves. All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy, similarly, all talk and no work makes the educated Indian of infinitely less use than he might and ought to be to the people and Country.

In recent years an Industrial Exhibition has been wisely organised as a useful adjunct to Congress and conferences. These exhibitions have served to keep up the waring interest in the political organisations, in the maintenance of which

may lakhs of rupees have been spent without any corresponding return ~~spent~~ to the people at large being directly traceable to them. The Industrial Exhibition held at Ranipet was confined to local and indigenous products, and seems to have been a decided success. At the opening ceremony, Mr. Bardwell, the Head Assistant Collector of the Division, explained the popular and unofficial character of the movement and paid a well-deserved tribute to praise to the local leaders for their zealons efforts Mr. R.C.C. Carr, the Collector, made a thoughtful and suggestive speech on agricultural and industrial matters connected with North Arcot, a speech which was marked by his genuine interest in the progress and welfare of the District Generally and of its agricultural population in particular. The usefulness of an Agricultural Association for the District has been Universally recognised and appreciated, and we understand that as a result of the recent gathering at Ranipet steps are being taken to establish one. With the example of enterprising Pemkonda before them, the people of North Arcot should have little or no difficulty indeciding in what directions practical and useful work can be done by an Agricultural Association in this District.

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THE HON., MR. GOKHALE AND THE CONGRESS.
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DATED:
26th July, 1904.

Yesterday evening the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale addressed a very large Public Meeting, held to accord him a public welcome to Madras. As his visit is in connection with the Congress, his address dealt wholly with the politics of that movement, and was intended to infuse among congressmen the enthusiasm necessary to maintain and increase interest in what is, admittedly, a steadily waning cause. Mr. Gokhale prefaced his remarks by alluding to the pre-dominant note of despair in private conversation and in the public prints with regard to political agitation in India, and the rest of his speech was directed to showing that this feeling was not justified by the results claimed to home been achieved by the Congress. A perusal of the address still leaders the impression that, despite Mr. Gokhale's optimistic utterances and enthusiastic exhortion, the community whose interest is sought to be aroused or quickened has good reason to be dissatisfied with the results of the wasted energy of its so-called leaders, and is justified in asking, as it repeatedly does, to use Mr. Gokhales ownwords:- "Is it possible for the Congress to achieve anything substantial if its work is continued on the lines on which it has been carried so far?"

It does not require much political foresight to see the wisdom and force of this popular misgiving.

THE SOUTH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.
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DATED:
15th October 1904.

With the meeting that took place at the Adderson Memorial Hall yesterday evening the recently formed South Indian Association entered upon its career of active work. Thanks to the manificicient generosity of certain well-to-do Indian sympathisers, the Association will soon be in possession of a fine building of its own, built on its own site, and also of a library (a memoriar of the late Mr. Justice Ranade) containing a large number of the best looks, the nucleus of which has been provided by a handsome donations of Rs.5,000. Starting under such ~~fevarabable~~ favourable auspices, the Association should have no difficulty in establishing itself on a broad and lasting basis. The objects of the Association are "the promotion and encouragement of the specialised study of the various branches of knowledge which bear in a direct and practical manner upon the progress of India, (1) by forming a suitable library of books and periodicals (2) by holding meetings for lectures and discussions; and (3) by reading and publishing papers and dissertations". The Association will be divided into the following five sections:- Historical, Economic Industrial, political and Scientific. It should be noted however, that the Association "will not take part in any political agitation or make any prepresentations to the authorities on political matters, or pass resolutions on contraversial political questions.

There can be no doubt that within the range of objects above outlined the members of the Association

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will find ample scope for a large amount of useful labour. In professor Rangachariar, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the Presidency College, the association has as its first President a man of extraordinarily wide attainments, for he is not merely a learned Sanskrit scholar and ermdite philologist, he is a skilled scientist also having been for many ofx years a be lecturer in physics and Chemistry in the various Government Colleges in Southern Indian His address yesterday on "Personal equation of in History" was as interesting as it was well reasoned. Further, it constitutes a most excellent starting-point in the Associations preceedings, for it conveys a number of sound lessons for those who will attempt to carryout the Associations programme of research and exposition.

SWADESI MOVEMENT AT TRICHINOPOLY.

DATED: (an amusing circular).

19th November, 1904.

The following circular letter, issued by the organisers of the "Swadesi Movement" at Trichinopoly is amusing reading:-

Brethown: In these days of various patriotic movements, what is called "The Swadesi Movement demands our earnest and immediate attention, as that is the only means of reviving our drooping national industries that are being smothened out of existence by the grosping hold of foreign competition. It is a shame and a degadation that we Hindus the most conservative race on the face of the earth should draw even over food supply and victurals such a bread, biscuits, etc., from foreign sources, when the same of indigenous make are available from factories like the Delhi Biscuit Manufactory and the Madras Brahmin Bakery. It is an unpardonable sin against national interests to purchase the articles of our need and the luxuries of life from foreign countries, when they (at least many of them) are pracuvable from Indian firms namely, - Candles from Guzerat, common safety, and pyrotechnic match boxes from Hefizabad, Bilaspur, Ahmdabad and Kalcutta, paper from Bombay, Poona, Surat, Quilon, Gwaliar and Lucknow, Soat from meerat, Cawnpore, Barado, Lucknow, Bombay and Tirunada marudur twine from Cawnpore and several articles from various Indian factories.

It is known to every school boy that Sananpalayam, Madura, Musiri and Conjeevaram are producing excellent checks for coats, shirts and other articles of

of dress. Mr. Dobari Mall, B.A., the enterprising and self sacrificing patriot at Ludhiana has established a cotton and woollen factory in that city. The preserved fruits imported from foreign countries can be profitably substituted by fresh and dried fruits imported from Afghanistan and supplied by Messrs Chopra and Brothers, Ludhiana. Heads under which such sensible and profitable substitution may be made can be multiplied. The durability and the cheapness in the long run, of indigenous goods are indisputable especially when it is seen that on such articles no freight and other shipping charges insurance fee, and customs duties need be paid. There is the further advantage of the profits accuring from the trade on such articles circulating in our own Country. We do not stop short of damouring for local self Government and other privileges when we are conscious that all such institutions under our management may not all on a sudden meet the fullest requirements and the highest expectations. We argue that a begining should be made and a period of training should be allowed to us to prove our capa-bilities. On the same reasoning, it is but natural that we should go in persistently for Country made articles, even though they may not be able to out best, their foreign rivals in the matter of finess of texture or external dazzle.

With these patriotic motives it was proposed to make a holy experimen on trial by starting a joint stock concern, known by the name of Trichinipoly Swadesapanda Vyapara Salai" or

Trichinipoly National Emporium", to be registered for 400 shares of Rs.25 each making a paid up capital of Rs.10,000. The company has accordingly been started. An auspicious begining has been made by starting the trade on our National Holiday - Vijayadasami . . . . It is proposed to get Indian articles for commission sale with or without payment of advance. No foreign made articles will be received for sales however attratice the commission offered may be. At present the articles for sale would consist of Indian cloths, candles, match boxes, protechnic matches soaps scissors, knoves checks b ttons, twine, paper scents, razors iron safes locks, etc. playing to the Almighty to make the concern longlived and successful so as to further the interests of India.

One would think that though the Amir of Afghanistan is "our friend and ally", yet from the "S"adeshi" movements point of view that country is an foreign as, say, England, at least. The Trichinopoly patriots, however, obviously hold otherwise.

SIR H. COTTON'S CONGRESS ADDRESS.

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26th December, 1904.

Sir Henry Cotton is not the first European, nor even the first ex-official european, who has presided over a meeting of the Indian Congress; but he is the first retired head of a Province who has done so. The times of India, in an article a few days ago, remarked of Sir Henry Cotten:- "He was only recently a servant of the Crown; and if he retired from India with no animosity against those in authority rankling in his mind, then we have sadly misjudged him. We do not wish to impute unworthy motives, but we fear that the impulses which animate the English leaders of the Congress are too often largely compounded of unsatisfied ambition, wounded vasity, and a vulgar craving for popular applause This was be severe, and perhaps a little unmeritted, for Sir Henry Cotton, since the publication of his "New India" has been known to possess what we may call generally pro-Congress tendencies. But in the Address which he delivered at the opening of the Congress in Bombay this afternoon, and which will be found in another column, it is possible to detect some traces of such feelings. Be this as it may, the Address will doubtless be read with equal interest by officials and non officials. It is not quite so voluminous an utterance as those which some of his predecessors in the Congress Chair have indulged in, but the full test of it would fill a paphlet of very considerable size. We suppose it is almost inevitable that an Address of the Kind, delivered on such an accasion ,

should take the form of a strong appeal "to the Gallery" But it is surprising, to say the least of it, to find an ex official of high standing, whatever his political opinions and ambitions may be, giving so little credit for good intentions and successful perfrance to the Service and the Government whose salt he has eaten for so many years.

It is clearly evident that Sir Henrys whole attention is fixed on the coming General Elections at Home, which he thinks will be for India "an epach-making campaign "If this because be himself will be a candidate for Parliamentary honours? In any case, it is quite clear that his Congress Address is as much an appeal to his elections as it is to "this great representative Assembly", the Gongress. It is not surprising, therefore, to find him asserting in a spirit of obvious exaggeration that in the Congress "the different races, the numberless, castes, classes and creeds of India are wedded together", for the more authoritative his "mandate" from India is made to appear, the more authoritative will be his claim to the suffrages of his chosen constituency. As for India itself, apart from the contentions rivalries of Home politicians, Sir Henry Cotton lays down the asion that "the ideal of an Indian patriot is the establishment of a federation of free and separate states". What the real meaning of this is, Sir Henry does not deign to explain, except o say that these "free and seperate States " on to be "placed ona fraternal footing with the self Governing colonies, each with its local antonomy cemented together under the agis of great Britain" Presumably it comes to this, that India, and every divisible part of India, is to be self governed in its civil affairs,

"free" and "seperate", with the British Indian Government abolished as a Civil power, while the freedom and the seperateness and the antonomy an to be guaranteed by the "Aegis" of British guns and bayanests and British warships. This, and the rest f Sir Henry's aniable, "forecast of a future", is all very beautiful and fine, but it centainly is not "business", from the British defenders and grantors point of view. Indeed, it is all very visionary, and it fails entirely to take into account such potent and abiding dis abilities, wholly dependent on Indian themselves, as were pointed out a few days ago by another congress leader, Mr. Sankaran Nair.

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INDIA AND INDIAN PATRIOTISM.

DATED:
30th December, 1904.

The most marked feature of the recent Congress oratory at Bombay has been the plea for an Indian patriotism and nationalism based on the example of Japan The example is, of course, essentially misleading, for the Japanese are, and have always been, a homogeneous are, and have always people, to whom patriotism, and nationalism come naturally and simply, as we have before pointed out, and as Mr. N.N. Ghose, the Bengal Barrister, has pointed out in his remarkable article in the Hindustani Review from which we quoted Yesterday. As for India, it may be said that we have all of us common Indian patriotism. But a sentiment whicha Gujerati shares with a garo, a Madarasi with a Baluchi, a Bengali with Bhil, is necessarily a hebulons, vague and unpractical emotion. For a practical and working patriotism the Indian must discriminate. He may narrow his patriotism to local limits, or he may associate himself only with all that is best most cultured, most refined, most dignified, all parts of India. The former is the natural, the instinctive tendency of all Indians. In no continent is local patriotism more keen and vigorous than in India, witness The agitation about the partition of Bengal, of which Sir Henry cotton made so much. The latter is the, perhaps equally natural, tendency of Indian Congresses and other such bodies. Both have their uses, both their causes. But perhaps local patrotism has hardly attained its proper working or its due effects.

After all, what is the exact position of the Government of India in the continent over which it rules? It is, in common speech, and in fact, a supreme Government. Thatis, the actual work of administration is mainly performed by subordinate Governments. . . . It is the focus of two conflicting tendencies, one centripetal, the other centrifugal, one centralising the other decentralising. According to the one, all the three hundred millions of India are Indians and may claim to have a share in the unique, the difficult, the some what thankless task of keeping the peace between the Indian nations. It is currions, surely, that the Indian Congress and such bodies unconsciously faster this centripetal tendency.

But there is also the decentralising tendency, that which argues that each race knows its own business best and that each Province should do as much of its own legislating and finance and administration as is consistent with the Public place and the guarding of the common border. It is often argued that the Military expenditure of India is excessive. It is, on the other hand, small compared with that of European nations, and the population of India is not a nation but a collection of Nations. If only the world were sufficiencly advanced in true civilisation to cause the neighbours of India to refrain from aggression and to eatch with sympathetic interest the

the great administrative experiment which our rules one accomplishing, we might be content to have an Army no longer on more powerful than that of Belgium or Dammaka. But, after all, the Indian Army is small compared to the mass of armies which would have to be maintained if the states of India were independent and seperate. Fot it is, severely, impossible to believe that an independent India would be a united India. A loyalty to the now united India is indispensable and landable . . . .
The business of the actual administration must always be ardnons, technical anddifficult. It must always be in the hands of men who have proved in local Governments that they possess the faculty of administration Thinkers always been recognised in the case of the paid severants of India. It is obviously equally true of the leaders of Indian society who wish to have their say in Imperial politics. A man must make his mark in his own Province before he can aspair to the infinitely more complicated task of Indian legislation and administration. A vast and so disporate is India that a leader of opinion in Madras, Calcutta or Bombay may will be out of his element when called upon to deal with Frontier problems or questions connected with the administration of newly acquired and hald savage territories.

Does not the Congress attempt too much in speaking for all India (and we ask once more, what is India?) instead of giving a noice to the wants and aspirations of the Provinces which, in all but the mere

accident of administrative routine, are nations? . . When our reformers rashly tackle the Revenue problems of all India, who has not felt that they would be better advised if they were to patiently and carefully master the fiscal and economical conditions of their own Provinces, if they were to faster the decentralising rather than the centripetal tendencies of the Indian Government, if they were to be Madrasis or Panjabies or Bengalis first, and Indians afterwards?

EXTRACT FROM THE "MADRAS MAIL"

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MADRAS SCHOOLBOYS AND "BOYCOTT".

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DATED:
16th September, 1905.

Judging by the number that attended the meeting yesterday on the Beach, one ought to say that the demonstration was a success. The organisers of the meeting had invited the student population of Madras, and it was no wonder that the elderly section of the Indian community did not make their appearance. The first item that was gone through was a Telegu song, by which a select choire iscborted the audience to discard foreign goods. Then came the English verse entitled "Hail, Bengal", The demonstrators would have done well if they had not adopted the foreign tongue to give expression to their feelings. . .
Then came a Tamil song, pity and short, and to the purpose. The first resolution was then moved congratulating the student population of Bengal on the energy and spirit with which they have entered upon the struggle. If what has appeared in the papers is to be trusted, the movement in Bengal is nothing short of boycott, and all the necessary incidents of that phase of political result are serve to be found in it. The nergy and spirit displayed in such attempts are necessarily spanmadic and cannot be said to be steadfast. The speaker who moved the first resolution characterised the movement as "no mere boyist ebullition", that the student population looked to their elders to "~~judge~~ "guide their conduct", that they were however possessed of telvengy and had to receive shacks from the North to rouse them to action, that the movement was true to popular principles, that

although the native industries were not fit to compete with foreign ones, it was their business to revive and improve them, and that as they were one with their brethern in Bengal they were bound to congratulate them on the attempt to knit the nation in closer bounds.

If it is not boyish ebullition to tear away bundles of cloth and throw away boxes of X cigerttes into the Bay, I wonder what is . . . . .

This proposition was seconded by a student who said the movement had "no political significance", that they were all loyal to the British Government, that the movement was Swadeshi and not boycott, and that the Swadeshi had first to look to the improvement in the methods of distribution. And all this to be done by vilification and by talk? The supporter said he was swayed by two feelings but spoke only of one . .
He was, however, wise enough to finish with "so far as we can".

A SPECIMEN OF SWADESHI EFF[...]

--

31st October, 1905.

Kumbakonam has been, for the la[...] month and more, pociferously claiming its ow[...] of "public spirit" or what goes for it, by joi[...] in the cry of "cooperation" and "Swadeshi". Thi[...] rage has only too readily seized the student popula[...] of the town, who cry themselves boarse on the injusti[...] of they know not what in the existing order of things. Not one of the legion enthisiasts here really comprehends the significance of the words he utters, but in his blind rage he fancies the intensity of the sound will make up for the want of sense.

A fortnight ago this feverish excitement took up a visible demonstration in a "Mass meeting"-- So they chose to call it - convoked by the secretaries of the "Students association" - an institution improvised for the accasion. Many were the speeches made, but what sound sense there was in them was swallowed by loud declamation, which varied inpersely with the importance of the speakers. A certain sensible speaker, however, administered the assembled group, of students and spoke of the *Swadeshi" movement as impotice and dangerous He urged them, however, to start any cooperative enterprise, and proposed that students should lend practical help towards its execution. But, say what you may, the "Swadeshi" movement was inseperably associated in the minds of young men here, and they made sour faces at the modest speaker, But other and younger

eakers were on their legs with their frandiloquent speeches that set the minds abloze. The students were congratulated the success of their efforts to bring about meeting of the kind, and they were help up as object lessons for the grown up gentlemen, who are odiously lacking in public spirit. This was sufficient to turn the heads to regenerate their town in their own wild ways. One material result of the mass meeting was the opening of a grand subscription list and the nomination of a few officers. There were profuse promises of support and encouragement and the Treasurer knows best how far those loud-menthed promises were backed up by performances.

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SWADESHI AND PART

...

By

A Mahamedan Magistrate.

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13th December, 1905.

MANNARGUDY.

In the course of a reply, on the eve of his departure to Madras Mir Sultan Mohideen Sahib Bahadur, Deputy Collector of the Division, made the following remarks on the Partition of Bengal and the Swadeshi movement. .

In regard to the Partition of Bengal, he was sorry to notice motives being attributed to Government. It was easy to conceive instances where an act of Government was rebemently condemned at the time of its passing being subsequently received as a ble-ssing. In such cases, contemparary criticisms were indegnant against the acts of Government at the time of their happening; but the verdict of posterity who were removed from the turmoilof the times, whose perpective was not discured by the heat and dust of the fray, blessed them as a great boon. Such, be hoped with Lord George Hamiltan, would be the Welcome that would be accorded to the Partition of Bengal when the agitation over it subsided and calm reflection and judgement returned On the same analogons principle, an angry agitation might spring up over the meyar scheme for dividing up the Districts in the Madras Presidency. Truth was bitter and advice was unwelcome when impulses and passions were at play. Mrs. Annie Besant, who had been workshipped as a religious teacher, had been burnt in effigy when she

urse of the agitations
ethods. Assuming that a mistake
it enough as a justification for for-
the deep debt they owned to British rule?
ne Swadeshi movement deserved well at their hands, but if it should be worked as a counters blast to the partition of Bengal and as an instrument to boycott English goods, it lost every claim to their sympathy and support. Some bengalis would seem to ave decided not to speak the English language. If it should be so abandoned, they were laying down their chief weapon of warfare. It was to be deplored that such a good cause as that repeesented by the Swadeshi movement was in danger of being spoilt because of its methods and the agency of schoolboys, to whom it stood entrusted.

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If it is impossible to endorse every senti-ment expressed or to support every claim advanced in the Address delivered by Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer today, it is at any rate possible to commend it as an unusually save and straightforward presentment of views from the Congress standpoint. We are glad to see that Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer r frained from making oratorical capital out of the present ferment in Bengal, and devoted his attention to larger and less localised topics. At the same time, this being a Provincial Conference, one would have been glad if he had denoted rather more space to the affairs of this Presidency. But doubtless the Resolutions and debates of the Conference itself will tend more in this direction. On the subject of political agitation genrally in India, Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer, while ably arguing in justification of it, does not hestitate to say that it is not everything

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of a body like . . . . He remarks

with those of the Mahajana Sabha . . . .

"Ihave often heard it said that the Congress has sounded the death knell of local political activities, that instead of being the copping stone of an arch built upon broad foundations, it has proved a heavy weight, calculated to destroy the whole structure. I have no doubt this is a grossly exaggerated statement of a truth which is entitled to some consideration. We are bound to remember that the superstructure we have erected ipon some what slender foundations is a little top heavy; and it is our duty to employ every means in our power to strengthen them even if the labour involved, amounts to a digging up and removal of the old foundations".

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In view of these proofs of the General lack of political insight and ability amongst the educated classes of India, of the fact that the Congress itself is even yet without a regulated constitution; of the admission that "the Congress has too much the Character of a grand demonstration or tamasha, which people from distant parts flock to witness, but it fails to inspire their monthly and daily activities", of the further admission that local Self Government in India, by which it was intended that the people should educate themselves politically, has so far been anything but successful; and of the siagnificant circumstances that only a very small proportion of the population are yet able even to read and write, it is surely somewhat early to ask for such largely increased political privileges as are implied in the doubling of the number of Additional Members of the Legislative Councils. For this would mean nothing less than putting the Government in a position to be defeated by a non official majority on any matter that came before the Council. Let pepresentation be widened by all means, but with sufficient guarantees for the protection of the executive Governments. And here in Madras Presidency representation might also be improved and made more local by grouping Municipalities and Local Boards together and revising the electoral areas, as urged in these columns on several occasions.

While frankly admitting "the apathy, the want of public spirit and of sufficient selfsacrifice and the factions disposition often displayed by members of Municipal Councils in various localities",

he pleads with no little force that more might have been done to teach the people of the system of Local Self Government, and he deplores the absence of a policy "which leads the people by the hand so as the enable them to walk with a steadier and a firmer step so that in time to come the muscles may be strengthened and the spirit merved to enable them to dispense with the ginding hand". Those on Indians in the Public Service are less convincing be-cause the whole case is not presented. In this connection we are inclined to think that it might be advantageous to appoint a picked Indian to a Member of Council in this Presidency. This would relieve to some extent the terrible burden of over-work now laid on the Members. As regards the seperation of Executive from Judicial functions, which Mr. Iyer also tackles, the proposal, if carried out, would doubtless involve the creation of a large number of additional Governmentappointments and is perhaps popular chiefly for that reason, but in any case there is much to be said on tboth sides and the Grivance underlying it is not very real or appart in practice.

The concluding portion of Mr. Iyers Address contains views on the relationship between rules and ruled which deserve to receive attention from the thoughtful section on both sides. We cannot agree that the love of "most Englishmen" for India is based on the selfish considerations there enemerated. . . " If we join hards and work strenuously for the common weal", he concludes", the ideal wil will soon be realised".

EXTRACT FROM THE "MADRAS MAIL".

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THE "NEW MOVEMENT" IN INDIA.

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4th May, 1907.

The movement which has for its goal "Swaraj" and for its means of attaining that goal the boycott of English goods has been recently expoinded in Madras by Mr Bepin Chandra Pal. The Bengali agitator has had no cause to complain of the size or temper of his audiences, but he can hardly have failed to notice the absence of all the influential members of the Indian Community from these gatherings, and the blunt correction of his disingenours interpretation of Lord Minto's Policy made by the "Hindu" most have brought it home to him that the Indian Press of this Presidency is not ready to accept him uncritically. Still in a measure Mr. Pal has succeeded in imposing his views on a section of the people of Madras, and they are not likely to be less miscluenous because his most sympathetic hearers liding to the student class. The speech which Mr. Pal delivered on the 1st instant was a thoroughly characteristic utterance in its violence, its elaborate misrepresentation of the policy of the of the Government of India and its vague prophecy of an Indian ultimatum to the Imperial power. It opened with the usual allusion to the partition of Bengal, and Mr. Pal paid Lord Curzon the compliment of claiming him as the creator of the New movement. Not only had Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal but he had removed the general misconception regarding the Queen's Proclamation, and, by doing so, he had taken away the last hope of the Indian peoples, forced them to realise the futility of looking to England for their "political salvation",

and driven them into acting independently of the Government.

We have no hesitation in saying that the misconception Mr. Pal Describes as being removed by the late Viceroy never existed for the great majority of the people of India. That it has been the contention of the Government to associate Indians X more and more closely in the administration of the Country is true, and that intention has beem partially carried out by the admission of Indians to the Legislative Councils, to the Civil Service and some of the highest Judicial posts, and to a very lorge number of minor appointments in the various departments. As Mr. Pal himself said, India is very largely ruled by Indians. But later in his speech he contradicted himself and lamented that the country was not ruled by Indians. Mr. Pal believes India to be ruled by Indians when he wishes to convince his audience that a boycott of official posts would leave the Government helpless, and that he believes India not to be ruled by Indians when he wishes to arouse indignation against the Government. The convenience of possessing a faith which accepts two apposite behliefs is evident, and it is so difficult to contravert an argument based on two conflicting statements that we may be excused for not attempting the feat.

The Queen's Proclamation, Mr. Pal Said, had been the Mogna Charta of Indians. It had been regarded, we learn, as a pledge that, When "the divine mission" of England was accomplished, India would be given complete antonomy. Mr. Pal now repudiates his former faith in the proclamation. The Magna Charta, he insiverated, had

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"a peculiar history", and be alluded to the armed force which compelled the signing of that document until a member of the audience took the one and suggested that Indians could adopt the same measures. Not only was there never such a pledge of evacuation given in the Queen's Proclamation, but if England were to abandon India she would be betraying a trust of the utmost importance. The pose of the complete disinterestedness is not one which commends itself to sincere Anglo-Indian opinion. But the fact that England derives benefits from the possession of India, that individual Englishmen earn a livelihoon in this country, does not destroy the character of the British Administration. The spread of education, the improvement of social conditions whenver the people are prepared to accept legislation on matters largely governed by custom and religious belief, the development of all the natural resources of the Country the mitigation if not the prevention, of fanunes, all these are part of Englands mission in India. Non do social and economic improvement exhaust the list of tasks before the Government. The political education of the country is necessary, and when so much progress has been made in other directions it is impossible to deny the right of the people to share in the Administration. To a great extent they do share in the Administration, but if there is a general feeling among them that their share is insufficient, it is the duty of the Government to consider sympathetical their request for an increase of power. The decision, however, must be based not on regard for the wishes

of an educated minority, or for the ambition of demogogues, but on regard for the future of the Country. The Government of India is a matter of administration rather than of legislation. There are in the Country backward and scarcely semi-civilised communities which must ve governed by methods quite than those adopted in dealing with a civilised race. In the mulenuim foreseen by Mr. Pal these backward Communities would either have no share in the Government of the Country in which case it would be a misrepresentative Government, or they would have a privilege they did not desire and were incapable of using. It would be nonsense to say that a Bengali journalist or Vakil could adequeatly represent the Todas, the Bhils, the Lushais.

..... Representative Government being out of question, it is to be presumed that Swaraj means, when the word is used by the more moderate advacatres of antonomy the degree of self Government given to a colony. But in the case of a self Governing Colony the population is homogenous and the grant of self Government is possible only because there is reason to believe that the tries between the colonies and the mothuland are too strong ever to be broken. . . It is quite natural that the peoples of India should desire a longer share in the Administration, but extravagant demands and intemperate criticism of the Government are not the means by which it can be won. And there is no force in the argument that, because in certain

instances constitutional agitation has farled, it is an inadequate means of influencing fae Government of India. What it is impossible to grant must be denied whether it is asked for muldly orn violently. Unconstitutional agitation cannot be more effective, and any attempt to terrorise the Government woüld be not only futile but productive of reprisals as displeasing to the Government as to Indians.

Mr. Pals recommendation of unconstitutional agitation is mischievous, but what is much more mischievous is his persistent suggestion, in his speech last might, that the very benefits of British rule in India one evils because they blind the people to the inigirity of an ather administration. To him must belong the distinction of having tendered the worst advice that has come from the lips of any Indian politician, the advice that the people of this country are not to seek for the redress of particular grievances becuase every improvement in the Government makes its hold on the Country surer. Mr. Pal, in other words, is inviting the people of India to assist passively in the creation of evils which they are subsequently to resent actively. For the sake of an ideal whose realisation seems remote even in the minds of those who desire it, Mr. Pal X wishes the Country to retrogress of all the privileges enjoyed by Indians under the administration of England there is none drean to them than the privilege of representing their grievances to the Government, of making suggestions, of incluencing the course of legislation. This is

the privilege Mr. Pal expects them to forego. They are to take no part in the abin Administration, least of all are they to assist in the improvement of that Administration. If this advice were taken, the whole moral responsibility would be shifted from the Government to the people, giulty of the childistness of resenting what they did not try to prevent, of complaining thatthe wants which they never made known were not satisfied. We wuite agree with Mr. Pal that the outcome of this New Movement may be very grave, but if ever that conflict between the Government and the people which he describes as constant and natural enters on an actuate stage, the blame will rest on Mr. Pal and his fellow sedition mangers, and they will have to answer for it X not to the Government but to the people they mislead.

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THE NORTH ARCOT DISTRICT CONFERENCE.

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27th August, 1907.

In the light of information forwarded by our correspondent on the latter day some of the importance attaching to Mr. Subramania Iyer's Address disappear, for it is made clear that acertain number of members objected to the selection of Mr. Subramania Iyer as President of the Conference because be represented a school of politicians who have attached themselves to the Bengali extremists. It is, therefore, better to consider his Address, even a its modified form, as a personal utterance approved by a section of the delegates rather than as an expression of the opinions of the Conference. Though Mr. Subramania Iyer repudiates the suggestion that the discontent now making itself felt in India is identifible with disloyalty, it cannot be said that he differentiates very clearly between the two, and it must be added that even in its expergated from his Address contains passages neither accurate in their statement of the policy of the Government nor conducive to that good-will between europeans and Indians which all thoughtful persons are desirons of promoting. It is the first article in the creed of some Indian politicians that great Britain Irains wealthought of India, and the fact that the ingenious propaunders of that theory could not place before the commission on Indian Finance any convincing on even playsible evidence does not affect their belief. That disease is one of the results of British rule is cert-

a discovery. Persons of not very advanced culture in parts of Northern India have indeed attributed the plague to the inventine genuis of a Government perplexed by the problem of ouer population, but is disconcerting to find a somewhat similar, if more discreet, suggestion putforward by an educated Indian. But vague charges of this character, unaccomplished by any argument, scarcely need examination, and it is not quite just to Mr. Subramania Iyer to dwell on such passages in his Address.

Mr. Subramania Iyer complains of many evils which he declares to be separable from foreign rule. Among these he reckons "the exclusion of Indians from the higher ranks of the Public Service, the monopoly of all authority by the bureaucracy, the pride, and exclusiveness of the ruling class, the general absence of sympathy". Considering the proportion of high legal posts held by Indians, the presence of a not inconsiderable number of Indians in the civil Service, the degree to which they are represented on the Legislative Councils, and the new scheme whereby they have been secured two places on the India Council, the complaint can scarcely have much force with any unbiassed member of Mr. Subramania Iyers audience. A resolution demanding that all posts in the Public Service should be recruited by competitive examinations held simultaneously in India and England was passed during the subsequent proceedings of the Conference, and this Resolution contained a promise so remarkable that it

that it deserves notice here. The examinations were to be competitive, at the same time due provision was to be made for the safeguarding of the interests of the educationally backward classes. This is a system of recruitment decidedly noval, and it may be imagined that the official handicapper, a person hitherto associated with the Turf rather than with the examination room would have a task of some delicacy in attempting to place and he same footing the highly educated and "the educationally backward".

Mr. Subramania Iyer observes that education is now generally believed by Europeans to be the cause of disloyalty, a belief which he does not, of course share, and one which he is mistaken in attributing to the majority of Anglo-Indians- What has been said, and what is undoubtedly true, is that education which powerfully effects the Indian mind without developing character, and arouses expectations of material aduancement without provision for gratifying those expectations, is productive of discontent. That discontent may be of a perfectly wholesome character, but, unfortunately, it provides material for agitations to work upon, and often it degenerates into a crimonous feeling against the Government. The ~~Madras~~ Modern and Western idea that so much literasy knowledge, was worth so much movey, that the passing of an examination constituted a claim on the state, has been imported into India with no good result. Apart from this, in education which transfers the mind of the student into the Western

world while learning him to live his life under conditions incongruous with his culture cannot fail to be disturbing. But realisation of these facts does not emply condemnation of education in India, and the dilimma of ignorance and disloyalty which Mr. Subramania Iyer describes has no existence in the thoughts of those, whether Englishmen or Indians, who look at the present situation intelligently. But Mr. Subramania Iyer is disconcerting when, in the course of an Address full of recommendations that the "futile" constitutional agitation should be abandoned, he observed that the Government are unwelling to trust to the loyalty of the people. So far as we can understand the complaint it is a grievance that in face of the presistent preaching of unmistably seditious doctrine by c certain papers and the ortrages committed by mobs in the Punjab the Government have at last forsaken the culpable policy of laizzey faire. It is difficulty to see how abandonment of constitutional agitation, perpetual criticism of the Government and indications of hostility towards Europeans generally can increase the trust the Government repose in the mass of the Indian peoples.

A resolution expressing the sympathy of the Conference with Lala Lajpat Rai was passed; another in support of the Swadeshi movement was also passed, and Swaraj defined as the self-Government obtaining in the colonies

was approved in a third resolution. With reference to Swaraj, the suggestions for its attainment were, besides the vaive system of examination already described, the adequate representation of Indians in the Council of the Secretary of State and the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of the governors of Madras and Bombay", "the expansion of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils", and the extension of the power of Local and Municipal bodies. Representation of Indians onthe India Council has already been secured, similar representation on the Executive Councils is not likely to be granted in the near future, and in view of the influence Indian Members will now exercise in the India Council and through the new Advisory Counciels over the general policy of the Government, the urgency of this demand will not be evident to moderate Indian politicians. The conference terminated with a speech in Tamil by Mr. Iyer in support of the Swadeshi movement and the Swaraj agitation.

Extracts from The Mall. Dt. 16-3-1907.

THE INDIAN REFORMS.

Muslim League Resolutions:

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Madras Presidency Muslim League held on 14th instant with Ahmad Mohiddeen Khan Bahadur in the chair.

"The Madras Presidency Muslim League tender its grateful thanks to Lord Morley for his assurance that the demands of Mahomedans to elect their own representatives at all stages and for a number of seats in excess of their numerical strength will be met in full, and trusts that the number of seats tok be allotted to the Mahomedans will be commensurate with their politcal importance.

"The Madras Presidency Muslim League is of opinion that Indians are sufficiently advanced to deserve the confidence of the Government and be associated in the executive administration of the country, and urges their appointment to the Viceroy's executive council. It also suggests the extension of the council to admit of the appointment of a Hindu and a Mahomedan. The appointment of a Mahomedan will not only give immense satisfaction to the sixty millions of Indian Mussalmans and strengthen their loyalty, but will also impress other Mahomedan Powers with the fairness and liberality of this the largest Mahomedan government.

"The Madras Presidency Mislim League views with great concern the attitude of the Hindu Press and associations against Lord Morley's recognition of Mahomedan claims. Such an opposition to the just and reasonable demands of the Mahomedans only tends to bring about a rupture between the Hindus and the Mahomedans, instead of creating the good fellow-feeling which ought to subsist between the two communities, and which it is the object of

of the Muslim League to promote. This affords another instance of the necessity of special safeguards for the protection of Muslaman interests.

"In the opinion of the Madras Presidency Muslim League, the grant of seperate electorates to Mahomedans will foster good feeling between Hindus and Mahomedans, by removing all causes of friction, disappointmen and heartburning, which an uniqual contest in electioneering campaigns is sure to engender, and which will no doubt accentuate the racial differences between the two communities and retard their common progress.

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The Mail- Dt. 20-3-1909.

MADRAS OPINION ON THE COUNCIL BILL.

At the public meeting held yesterday evening at the Victoria Hall to consider the Indian Councils Bill a large number of speeches were made and Resolutions were passed thanking Lord Morley and H.E. Lord Minto for the feform proposals, regretting the opposition in the House of Lords to clause 3 of that measure, and urging that non-official majorities in Provincial Legislative councils and the introduction of atleast one Indian Member into each of the Executive Councils, existent or to be created, should be obligatory. oriceed ckayse 3 if tge bill controversey has raged for a considerable time, and it is very improbable that any general considerations not already familiear to the public remain to be brought forward by its advocates or hostile critics. Yesterday, Mr. Karunakara Menon argued in favour of its retention in the bill with much ability, but he was something less than fair to the House of Lords. That House, he said, had thrown the burden of proof on Lord Morley, as if it were not incumbant on the advocate of any reform to produce convincing evidence. For the fate of the clause in the House of Lords the responsibility is Lord Morley's . He included the clause conferring power to creat Executive Councils in Provinces where they do not exist, without waiting to prepare any case for it, and the House of Lords is thoroughly justified in declining to pass it until a case has been made out. The government of India had not recommended that "Large departure" from the present systems of administration in Lt.governorships. Mr.Karunakara Menon declared that they had nevertheless "perceived that the change would be inevitable", which is truly an extraordinary interpretation of the Government of India's reference to

to the possibility of such bodies being required:- "It may be that experience will show the desirability of strengthening thw hands of Lt. Governors by the creation of executive councils. But it would be premature to discuss these contingencies..." The strength of a case can hardly be increased by such perversion of documents as the reading of inevitable for possible and regarding as definitely adjudicated a matter which the Government of India declared it would be premature even to discuss.

The intrinsic merits of the proposal were clearly stated by Mr. Karunakara Menon, who argued openly that Executive Council's would be necessary in view of x increase work, which is possible, though it has not yet been established, but that, with the expansion of the Legislatiwe councils and the extension of their functions, the responsibility of the veto should be shared between the Lt. Governor and the Members of his Executive Council, at least one of whom should be an Indian. There is, of course considerable force in this argument. But, even so, the veto of the individual, to which Mr. Menon takes such strong exception, would not be abolished, for as in the existing Provincial Executive Councils, so in those to be created, the head of the Administration would possess the right of overriding his Executive Council in any matter essentialy affecting, or in his judgement likely to affect, the safety, tranquility or interests of his charge. Still, there might be some gain by dividing up the responsibi for the veto on matters in which the head of the administration could not, or did not wish to, employ his power of over-riding his colleagues. But the matter cannot be considered solely with reference to the relations between the Executive and the Legislative in regard to the recommendations of the latter. When matters come to a

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to a deadlock it might be useful to pave the assistance of an Executive Council.

Turning to the recommendation dependant to some extent on the resolution in favour of executive councils we find Mr. T.Rangachariar arguing that the presence of an Indian on the Viceroy's Executive Council and on each of the Provincial councils existing or to be created, should not be made a matter of usage, but should be made obligatory. There has, as he points out, been nothing to prevent any Secretary of State appointing Indians of the requisite qualifications to the Viceroy's Executive Council or to the Executive Councils in Madras and Bombay, yet none have ever been appointed, and he fears, as we think without cause, that inspite of the precedent which Lord Morley is about to create, and of the general tendency of the reforms Indians will not be appointed in the future to t ose bodies, except at rare intervals when the Secretary of State happens to be a peculairly enlightened statesman. If is most natural that Indians should desire to make as sum as possible of the very valuable privilege which Lord Morley intends extending to them. But is there not some serious confusion of thought in the demand that the presence of an Indian on these councils should be made obligatory? Surely appointments should be made entirely on grounds of speical qualifications regardless of race. It is on that principle that we have objected to the exclusion of Indians from the Executive Councils, and on the same principle we object to any proposal to make the presence of an Indian in each of these bodies obligatory. It is much more reasonable to demand that the non-official majority shall be a permanent feature of the Provincial Legislature Councils. Few unprejudiced persons fed much apprehension as to the results of

of placing non-officials in a majority, as the veto of h
of the Administration and the power of concurrent
legislation possessed by the Government of India provide
safeguards.

We can only regret that the agitation against the g
of a separate electorate to the Mahomedan community conti
It has been proved in the clearest possible manner that,
without a seperate electorate, their chance of securing
genuine representation would be small. Attention must
be drawn to some peculiear procedure in this and another
connection. The resolution of protest against the gran
of a separate electorate to Mahomedans was, according to
the programme published before, to have been moved by
Khan Bahadur Ghulam Muhammad Sahib and seconded by Haji
Abdul Aziz Badsha Sahib, but it was actually moved,
not by any Mahodeman gentleman but ny Mr. Audinarayana.
Even this, we beleive, was a change for, as
Dr. T.M.Nair informs us in a letter, Mr. Raman Pillay wa
down, without his consent, to move this Resolution, of
which he did not approve and Dr. Nair himself was set dw
in Thursday's programme to move the resolution regarding
clause 2 which he declined to do. The unauthorised use
of names described by Dr. Nair is not a creditable means
giving weight to public resolutions and the change as to
mover of the resolution in regard to Mahomedans entirely
weakened the effect of a protest which was to have come
from a representative of the community concerned. The
reception of the reforms has given Lord Morely legitimat
qualification, and in t e speeches made yesterday by
Mr. Subba Rao Pantulu, Mr. Kmishnaswamy Iyer and others
there is evidence that in this Presidency at least, what
dissatisfaction may be felt with certain details and
~~However disappointing the reception of the Indian~~
~~Councils Bill by the House of Lords may be to some Indian~~

and however disappointing the reception of the Indian Councils Bill by the House of Lords may be to some Indians the gratitude of the people of Lord Morley and Lord Minto has not diminished.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 23-8-1909.

THE N.ARCOT DISTRICT CONFERENCE.

Mr. K.R. Gurusawamy Iyer the President of the North Arcot district conference, at Chittoor in his address began by alluding to recent losses to this Presidency and to India, and his denunciation of the Imperial Institute outrage was outspoken. But however welcome such repudiations may be as indicating the feelings of the people, something more is required of them than condemnation of political crime, and Mr. Guruswamy Iyer, put the duty of the people very clearly before his audience. "We have to preserve ourselves and our posterity, our politics and political organisations and our government from the politics and political weapons of this new born clique", the anarchists, he said. He went on to declare that, alike out of gratitude for the past and in order to secure the future of the country, it was imperative that the congress and all its branch organisations should be based on loyalty to the British Raj. For the re-affirmation of such loyalty, he said, there could be no fitter place than Arcot, the scene of cliques triumph, to which the devotion and sacrifice of Indian soldiers contributed so largely. With regard to his suggestions as to the working of thereforms, Mr. Guruswamy Iyer, objects to two seats on the Provincial council being allotted to Mahomedans, and by a process of counting heads he easily shows that on a numerical basis the proposed representation is excessive, while the comparative pxoverty and backwardness in education of the Mahomedan community supply him with further arguments. But it was long ago acknowledged by Lord Minto that it would be unjust to regard only members in allotting seats to Mahomedans and the poverty and lack of education which are urged as disqualifications will in any case have their effect bt greatly limiting the Mahomedan electorate. Mr. Guruswamy Iyer's criticisms on this point are, however,

less ~~remarkable than his pr~~ remarkable than his proposal that the one Mahomedan representative he would have on the council should be elected by the non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Council and the Fellows of the Madras University. Not content with reducing Mahomedan representation he wishes to make it nominal for what chance is there of an electorate consisting almost entirely of Hindus returning a genuinely representative Mahomedan. This "sinple plan" seems to us the most preposterous that has yet been put forward and that is saying a good deal. Nor can we find much that commends itself to us in his suggestion that the one seat taken away from the Mahomedan community should be set aside for a representative of the Indian Christian community. We readily admit that the Indian christian community is of very considerable importance, both on account of numbers and on account of its standard of education, and indeed there is nothing against the proposal except the impossibility of finding a single person who could be in any real sense the representative of the very numerous sects into which the community is divided. Since Mr. Mr.Guruswamy Iyer makes so much of the differences which tell against Mahomedans in this Presidency being regarded as an absolutely homageneous community, it is surprising that he ignores situation but more marked differences in the case of the Indian christian community. We may hope that in the future, with the further expansion of the council, if that should be necessary, Indian christians will secure due representation, but in the present circumstances it is unfortunately impossible to put any one person forward as representative of the community.

With regard to the position of Indians in South Africa it is so unfortunate that the case for its amelioration does

not need to be supported by inaccurate additions, xxx such as the statement that Indians in the cape will lose the franchise they at present enjoy as soon as the union is effected..... The cape is to preserve its present franchise, and though provision is made for the legislature of the Union to a end it, such amendment can only be carried by a two-thirds majority which makes it impossible for the oth r three colonies to override the cape. For the rest however much the "colour bar" may be regretted in that it excludes the educated Indians in Natal or the Transvaal from the vote, interference by the Imperial Government would wreck the union, without securing any gain to the Indians in South Africa.

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THE MAIL. Dt. 22-11-1909.

THE TANJORE DISTRICT CONFERENCE.

The Third annual session of the Tanjore district conference opened on Saturday (20th) when the delegates were welcomed by Mr. N. Krishnasawmy Iyengar, who is a candidate for election to the Provincial Legislative Council by the Local Boards and Municipalities, and the President, Mr. T.Rengachariar, delivered his address. A considerable portion of Mr. Krishnasamy Iyengar's speech was an apology for the conference. The rules drawn up at the previous conference provided for the organisation of village Associations in connection with the conference, but this remains an unfulfilled intention, and Mr.Krishnasawmy Iyengar explained some of the difficulties to be overcome in carrying out the scheme. "Sch of you as have experience of every day life in a village can vouch for the fact that it is extremely difficult to infuse a spirit of combination among the villagers of the present day, even in matters vitally connected with their very means of livelihood." Until the villagers are brought into relation with the District Association it cannot be said that the conferences are in the full sense representative, and Mr.Krishnasawmy Iyengar's candid admission on this point is worth noting. No doubt, ashe claims, the delegates at such gatherings, may be held to represent the people in another sense, in so far as they have identical interests. But it is wellthat the spokesmen of the masses should remind themselves, as Mr.Krishnawawmy Iyengarhas done, that they have no such mandate from the people as would justify dogmatism as to popular needs and wishes.

Tanjore haschosen to organise itself on non-party lives, as Mr. Rengachariar calls them; that is, without eliminating persons holding views generally regarded in Moderate circles

as extreme. The District, we are told, is in the fortun position of having no extremists to exclude, and there is therefore no needfor rules shutting them out. At the sa time the conference is organised as to claim the co-opera of men of all shades of opinion except the "bomb advocate" The organisers of the conference may be the persons best informed as to politcal opinion in the District and most keenly concerned for its welfare, but it seems to us, that tolerance is in danger of becoming a voice when Mr. Rengachariar undertakes the rehabilitation of terms admit of sinister meaning. Swaraj may have innumerable signif tions, some of them quite innocent, but in the present condition of affairs in India it is more profitable to set out clearly the contrast of constitutionalism with anarchy than to investigate dubious positions between them. Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar pleaded for the acceptance of the Reforms at least as an instalment of greater privileges.

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The MAIL. Dt. 8-12-1909.

THE MADRAS LANDHOLDERS ASSOCIATION.

The proceedings of the Annual meeting of Madras Landholders Association held yesterday afternoon were of unusual interest in that two important new projects come up for consideration- the formation of a Loyalist League and the establishment of a Rajkurmar College. As regards the former, it will be recollected that almost simultaneously with the formation of a body of landowners in Bengal pledged to promote loyalty and respect for law and order,certain members of the Madras Landholders Association invited the opinion of their class in this Presidency as to the desirability of creating an organisation with the same aimsin this Presidency as to the desirability of creating an organisation with the same aims in this Presidency. In January of this year we published a letter from the Rajh of Kurupam on the subject, and soon afterwards it became evident that there was a concensus of favourable opinion on the project, which is now about to be realised. The desizability of such a body as the Imperial League,as its promotesrs have decided to call it needs little demonstration As the Maharaj of Bobbili said yesterday, in morning a Resolution pledging the Landholders Association to support the League:- "We must not fancy that the period of anxiety has passed away.... The reappearance of the bomb at Ahmedabad shows that there is still need for vigorous practical effort to crush the forces of disorder. We, the representatives of the landed aristocracy, whose watchword has always been loyalty and devotion to the soverign, have a great responsibility in this matter. We areborn volunteers pledged by tradition and inheritance to guard the interests of the Empire." The same responsibility was forcibly stated by the President of the Association, the Rajh of

Venkatagiri, in his address, and the resolution which was seconded by the Rajah of kurupam in a speech read in his absence was carried unaniµously.

The project of a Rajkumar college, now under consideratio by the Government of Madras, is of course of the greatest interest to the aristocracy of the Presidency. Such institutions now flourish in the North. The need for such a college was long ago recognised by some members of the landowners Association, and that body is prepared to support the contemtplated institution practically, one member, the Maharajah of Bobbili who moved the resolution on the subject having promised a m donation of Rs. one lakh.

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EXTRACT FROM THE "MADRAS MAIL".

MRS. BESANT ON INDIAN IDEALS.

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10th January, 1908. /19

The eloquent address which Mrs. Annie Besant delivered on Sunday at the Theosophical Society's headquarters at the Adyar, touched upon several pressing problems the successful solution of which is of great important to this country. She has been such an observant student of Indian conditions for nearly twenty years and has formed so many sound opinions based on her intimate knowledge of those conditions, that her public utterances have come to be regarded with great interest and respect by both the people and the Government. In her work in India she has never been known to form hasty opinions or give expression to ill formed views, and she has always had the courage of her convictions in advocating a cause which she was satisfied was right however unpopular it might be for the time being. . .

In matters of Indian politics Mrs. Besant holds opinions to which no well wisher of India can take exception. She has not failed, when the occasion demanded, to condemn the political excesses of the ~~excitement~~ extremists and to set her face against the growing evil of schoolboys being drawn into the political area. Love of country and loyalty to the empire, of which India is an integral part being the high ideals which she is instilling into Indian hearts, she has always emphasised the greatness of Englands mission in this country. The following reference to the great future that lies before India

will be unconfortable reading to extremists whose political goal is antonomy outside the British Empire.

"More than a great spiritial goundation, more than a great intellectual superstructure, India needs material prosperity. She needs the building up of a truly national life. She needs to gradually train her children to be a self-governing State in the great Federation of States which will circle the whole ~~go~~ globe. For if it be possible to make such a Federation under the primacy of ~~great~~- great Britain which is the representative of the fifth subrace of the time, so strong that free states fathered together round her will be numerous enough and powerful enough to impose upon the world great peace, too strong to attack for they will all hold together, too strong to attack for they will all hold together, too strong to break for the links between them will be the link of love and liverty, two of the strongest forces in the world. then in such a mighty Federation India will have to take her place and play her party. What more splendid ambition for the youth of the Country than to grow into builders of such a nationality, to be citizen of such a state in the future."

THE NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

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18th February 1908.

The Madras Branche of the National Indian Association, which held its Annual general Meeting Yesterday evening, was able to present a satisfactory record of good and solid work done during the past year, while the membership increased and the finances were in a sound footing. The Hon'ble Sir Ralph Benson who presided, in putting the motion for the adoption of the Report, made a ~~faci~~ falicitous reference to Mrs. Branders services as Honorary Secretary of the Association. He remarked that her expert knowledge as an educationalist, her well known sympathy with the cause of female education in this Presidency, and her intimate knowledge of the language, manners, and feelings of the people made her exceptionally well fitted for the post of Honorary secretary, which she has just resigned. Both Sir Ralph Benson and Dewan Bhahadur N. Subramanian regretted that Mrs. Branders attempt to establish a High Schools for Hindu girls in Mylapore, in connection with the Home classes, had failed, and attributed the failure to the apathy of Hindu gentlemen of the locality regarding the education of their womenfolk. But this lack of support may be due in a measure to a desire on the part of the Hindu residents to strengthen the existing girls School and gradually develop it to a High School, if not a college. The foundation stone for a suitable building for the girls school was recently laid by His Excellency Lady Lawley, and, from what we hear, the leading residents of Mylapore

are striving to put this institution on a satisfactory basis. It is fitting that the National Indian Association would give a farewell entertainments to Mrs. Brander on the eve of her departure from Madras, and present her with an Address acknowleding the invaluable services she has rendered to the spread of female education in this Presidency. The work of the Association in the matter of promoting social intercourse between Indians and Europeans, especially the part which Sir Ralph and Lady Benson have taken in this matter, was commended by the speakers at Yesterday's Meeting.

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THE TANJORE DISTRICT CONFERENCE.

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8th June, 1908.

The Presidenttial Address delivered by Mr. G. Subramania Iyer at the Tanjore District Conference, is a characteristic utterance. Portions of it which deal with the industrial development of the Country and with education, though expressive of views which we do not share, are, up to a certain point sensible and suggestive. Such other portions as deal with politics exhibit a perverseness which is onlytoo common among the members of the Party to which Mr. Subramania Iyer belongs. No one could more emphatically condemn the calcutta conspirations, no one could indicate more clearly the futility and viciousness of the methods which some of the extremists recommend. But presently Mr. Subramania Iyer is found explaining that the responsibility for such occurances as those at Tinnevelly and Tuticorin rest on the Government for politicians of his type every official is more or less an agent pronacteur. He advances the extraordinary contention, now becoming familiar, that the larget is the cause of the shot fired at it, and demonstrates triumphantly that if there has been only Indian officials in tinnevelly and Tuticorin, there would have been no challenge of the authority of the British Officials who were not there. But let is not be supposed that Mr. Subramaniam Iyer is on the side of the rioters. "Now of us", he says, "have sympathy for violence in action or words, and we do not recognise within our fold men who resort to such means" as were employed Tinnevelly. Hence it might

hastily be concluded that Mr. Subramania Iyer favoured the ostralism of the extremists. Such a conclusion would, however, be crude and mistaken, for he regards a permanent split between the Moderates and the Extremists as "a national calamity". Those who are guilty of violent are to be kept outside the fold, but those who incite to violence are to be welcomed within it.

Mr. Subramania Iyer explained this ~~peace~~ procedure in the following words:- "The difference in the respective faiths of the new and the old school is not yet a practical issue, within the range of practical politics, and until it becomes such all of us can work together without divisions mutually destructive" This is the view many Indian Politicians are laking of the differences between the two parties, and that they should take it shows how little justification there is for the immense importance still attached by some writers to the split in the Congress Mr. Subramania Iyer is, of Course, an enthusiatic advacate of 'Swaraj' From his point of view, therefore ~~if~~ it is of the utmost importance that the recommendations of the Decentralisation commission should result in an increase of the powers of the Local Bodies and not in the strengthening of the Collectors authority. Begining with the self-Governigg g village, he rises to the self-governing District, and finally to the self-governing Province and Empire. As a scheme, it is well

enough, but it will be long before the earliest stages can be entered upon meanwhile, there are matters of greater practical importance to be attended to, and this incessant explanatoon of the dubious advantages of self-government in s ch a country as India serves no purpose some the intensification of discontent. A nation grows up into self-government, and attempts to hurry on its development are unwise from any point of view. That, as time goes on and education spreads India will become more and more capable of self government within certain obvious limits cannot be doubted. But anything nearly approaching colonial self-Government must be a very remote prospect, for there is a double task before Indian politicians, first, the creation of an [illegible] united by something more genuine that a net work of agitators, organisations, and then the creation of a deep sense of responsibility to the people and loyalty to the Imperial Power.

THE MADRAS MAIL.

THE TINNEVELLY SEDITION CASES.

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7th July, 1908.

The accused in the Tinnevelly Sedition cases have been sentenced Chidambaram Pillay to transportation for life and subramania siva to 10 years transportation. They were guilty of very serious offences under circumstances in which there is no excuse for them. They were perfectly well aware of the hevousness of their offences and of the counsequences seditions speeches, containing passages, likely to excite comtept of the Government and hostility to Europeans, were likely to have on their audiences. They carried out their intentions with full knowledge of the penalities the Lae exacts from those who attempt to subvert authority by seditions utterances. It is crediting them with little to assume that they weighed the risks ~~the~~ of their agitation and accepted them. Siva, whose sentence is much lighter than that inflicted on his associate was evidently the disciple and to some extent the dripe of Chidambaram Pillay. Left to himself, he would porbably never have dove more than indulge in a little wild rehetoric now and than after the fushion of many other another politicians of whose indiscretions the Lae takes no notice. But under the influence of Chidambaram Pillay. he developed into a sedition manager, and it cannot be doubted that the latter responsible for his associate being in the dack. Chidambaram Pillay

is a man of quite a different stamp. He was better fitted to estimate alike the genuineness of the grievances he undertook to champion and the grauity of his offence. Disloyalty was with him not merely the demagogues pose of andacity, he was, the sessions Judge, ~~remarked~~ remarked in passing sentence on him, "disloyal to the core". He fultied himself against the representative of the Government, and he has suffered the penalty justly exacted from those who attempt to sap the foundations of order and Government. In the second case against chidambaram Pillay for the substantive offence of sedition committed in the speech be delivered at Tinnevelly, the Judge passed a sentence of transportation for life, and directed the third case against the same accused to be over. Copies of the Judgements have been applied for witha view of an appeal to the High Court.

THE NEED FOR LOYAL PROTESTS.
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5th September 1908.

At a meeting at the Mahajana Sabha yesterday evening, when the 84th birthday of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was celebrated, Mr. P.R. Sundara Iyer made a speech which, at a time when the need for loyal protests is being discussed, requires careful examination. Mr. Naoroji, as the speaker reminded his audience, has always described himself as a between in British Justice, and Mr. Sundara Iyer asked if almost every educated Indian did not share Mr. Naorojis faith. He was in doubt as to the answer, and everyone who is in touch with the educated classes in this Presidency will agree that the past majority of the individuals composing them have a genuine belief in the sincerity and good intentions of the Government, thought sometimes in their legitimate protests against particular acts of the Government they may indulge in betorical questioning of official motives. There is abundance of real if not, as yet, very active loyalty among the educated classes in the Madras Presidency. But is it possible to go further than this and assert sedition in any part of it?" If the wid and wisions tealbing that some speakers and writers have for the last year and more been giving to ignorant and youthful audience is not sedition we are at a loss for any definition of sedition and should be glad to have Mr. Sundara Iyer's. The truth

is that, while the majority of their uneducated countrymen, are loyal, there is a small section of each class which is disloyal, and it is sypremacy unwise to ignore a minority merely because it is a minority. As it happens, this minority is evergetic and valuable; it is more on less organised; it is eager to influence the majority. And it requires but a little thought to realise that the mere dead weight of numbers will not nullify the labours of the disloyal minority, Ten Million persons who stand still will not outdo the activity of one person who moves. It is for this reason that loyal protests and loyal gatherings are needed.

Mr. Sundara Iyer, we regret to find, regards the attempt to organise loyal gatherings as an insult to the loyal Indian Community. He thinks that the suggestion of such gatherings means that the loyalty of the people is suspected, and that these gatherings are intended to be a kind of test of loyalty. This is surely a perverse view to take. If those who advocate such gatherings, really doubted the loyalty of the people in general, they would not suggest the convening of such meetings at all, for they would be of opinion that the meetings would be either unattended or attended only by hypocutical persons deserious of keeping up appearances. It is precisely because those who wish to organise loyal protests believe that the majority of the people are loyal that they make the suggestion. The main object of such meetings, we take it, is to show the waners that the majority of their own

Countrymen are supporters of the Government . . Appeals to race hotred, eapidity and love of disorder have not been in vain, as a series of disturbances have shown, and at this moment there are prosecutions under the sedition section of the I.P.C. in progress. And yet Mr. Sundara Iyer will have it that disloyalty is not merely confined to a comparatively small section of the people but is absolutely non-existent. No doubt the idea of its existence is so abhorrent. No doubt the idea of its existence is so abhorrent to him that he refuses to recognise disloyalty when he sees it. But the effect of his assertion that it does not exist may be harmful. On the one hand it may encourage some persons to continue in their optimistice inactivity while corrupting influences are spreading throught the Presidency. On the other hand, those who may have hitherto regarded certain speeches they have heard and certain points they have read as seditions, will now learn on the authority of a gentlemen who is widely respected that there is a no such thing as sedition in the Presidency, and they will shake off any doubts they had of the character of those speeches and points. It is a gross mistake to think that it necessarily takes a dishonest thinker to do political harm. When a man of capacity and high ideals makes a mistake his good repute is a powerful means of drawing after

him those who would denounce the same error if committed by a publicist of less repute, and we are sorry that Mr. Sundara Iyer has taken what we believe to be so erroneous a view of existing conditions and the need for organisation of loyalty.

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THE MADRAS MUSLIM LEAGUE.

1st December 1908.

The Meeting of the All India Muslim League in Madras last Saturday shows that the League merits the Confidence of the Mahomedan people and how far-reaching its influence has been. It may be well to briefly recall to maid the origin of the movement. Its leaders receiv their inspiration for the late Sir Syed Ahmand Khan, and as, owing to his influence, the mahomedans as a community took no part in the proceedings of the Indian National Congress, th could not in any corporate capacity make known their views and state their difficulties. It is true that in 1893 Sir syed Ahmad Khan and his friends founded the Upper India Defence Association, but it was a local affair, and whe he died in 1898 the Association practically came to an end. Nawab Vikar-ut Mulk then issued proposals for the formation of a new Association on a wider basis, but nothing was doneuntil the overthrow of the unionist Government and the discontent in Bengal alarmed the Muslim leaders. This led to a very important deputati to His Excellency Lord Minto in October 1906. The members of the deputation explained to the V that they were not in sympathy with the methods of the Congress but that as representative institutions were how to assume a position of great importance, the Mohamedans could no longer hold at of from participating in the conditions to which the policy of their ruler aad given rise. It was also desirable that

the Government should be in touch wi
of the people. The Address then pre
important document. It had been pre
care by some of the most intelligent
India, who felt that some Association
nature should be formed. The result wa
at Dacca on the 30th December, 1906, an
of the All India Muslim League.. The gen
of the speeches may be summed up in the
Hon'ble Nawab Salimullah Bahadue:- "We
prepared to enter on a political career as
which the spirit of the times impels us to
active propaganda, a more can did statement
needs and aspirations, and the giving of a m
public and more representative character to
political Association are more necessary toda
was the case in 1893. But nothing of the spiri
of loyalty is lost thereby, and no amount of can
shall sole us of our traditional country".

Inspired by the success of the move
in North India, the Mohamedans of Madras held a
about two months ago to form the central Musli
Association of Southern India. The meeting w
well attended and the Chairman, in a lunious
set forth the aims and objects of the propose
Association and the urgent need for its form
After some discussion a proposal was adopte
effect that the Association should be run c
lines as the All India Muslim League, and
sentative committee should be elected to c
scheme. The Madras members of the All In
League were placed on the Committee. Si
matter has been placed before the Mo
the rge towns, and according to

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evident that the movement has aroused
est and called forth much sympathy. The
has been both united and hearty. On
last the delegates, about 150 in number,
ious mofussil towns, attended a Meeting
Victoria Hall, Madras which was well filled
esident, Mohammad Mahmud Khan Bahadut, in
dress of Welcome, confined himself to
y words to the delegates and did not touch
e lines on which the League should be
nistered, as he had already done that on
revious occasion. The Meeting, which was
rely a business one, then proceed to reaffirm
e position of the League, stating that it would
guided by the principles of the All India
uslim League, which, briefly put, we to promote
loyalty to the British Government, to protect
the political and other rights of Mohamedans
and to promote friendly feelings between them
and other sections of the Indian Community.
These are excellent objects, and the South
Indian Mahamedans, hitherto too often divided
may, if they act wisely on these broad principles,
do much for their own Community. The other
matters dealt with were of a routine nature.

Of the need for such an organisation
ere is little doubt and we are glad that the
position to it ~~sums~~ seems to have died sway.
ll only to first stage has been reached, and
is yet to be seen how far it will encourage

thespirit of self help amongst
whom they represent. The leader
Mohamedans have for too long and
accepted the position of a backwa
generally supposed that there is m
Madras Mohamedans if so, every effo
to cultivate the spirit of unity an

THE MADRAS CONGRESS.
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e Statesman Writing on this
bject observes:---
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r 1908.

It is highly instructive to find that
more conteions, and posibly more timorous
writers in the Native Papers are begining
e the significance which would inevitably
the convening of two seperate Congresses,
s and at Nagpur. They see plainly that if
ess of their own supporters were held at Nagpur
ed of men who decline to limit their aim to
overnment within the Empire, to be attained
stitutional means, they would forth with
eal themselves in their true character as agitations
se object is to get rid of British rule entirely
d who will stop at nothing to achieve that
nd. At present these extremists retain a nominal
espectability ~~of~~ by figuring as the advance wing
f the Moderate Constitutional party. Their refusal
hen, to accept the moderate programme and to
ssociate with them in a Congress at Madras
ould go to show that the difference between the
o parties is not one of degree, but of kind.
more astute of these gentry, and their accomplies
he Press, are well aware of the advantage
h they enjoy by skulking in the shadow of the
titutional reformers. The last thing they
~~to~~ is to come out into the open, and hence
r rehement opposition to a seperate extremist
ress at Nagpur. Nor is their ausciety confined

to the proposal to hold an independent Congress. are quite clever enough to see that the absence of the extremists as a body from the genuine Congress Meeting at Madras would amount to a highly impolitic disclosure of their own unwillingness to adopt the only ideals to which an Indian political movement of this kind can legitimately aspire. Accordingly every effort is being made, under cover of a petence that the Madras Congress will be a mere sectional gathering, to deter dealing representatives of the people from attending it. It is to be hoped that no one will fall into so obvious a trap. In its forthcoming session at Madras the National Congress will have an unique opportunity of regaining its old character and influence. Purged of the violent and unscripulous elements which have dis figured it in recent years, it can assent itslef, as a loyal and legitimate movement whose object is, not to thewart the Government, but to assist it in its efforts to advance the welfare of the Indian people. Once the Congress has ceased to be tainted with disloyalty, openly disanowing all agitation hostile to British rule, its criticisms of the administration and its demands for reform will acquire a character and foree which at present they do not possess.

THE INDIAN REFORMS.

28th December 1908.

In view of the very full discussion that the Indian Reforms will receive at the sitting of the Indian National Congress, which opened today, it might at first have seemed a work of supererogation to hold a public Meeting in Madras almost simultaneously to express the appreciation of the citizens of the scheme of reforms so recently promulgated. On second thoughts, however, it will be recggnised that the Meeting was necessary for the reason that the Meeting was necessary for the reason that the Congress, while represent of a large section of the Indian community throughout the country, does not include all the Indian citizens, of Madras, and to that extent the approval and criticism, if any, of the Reform scheme passed by the larger body will be supplemented by that of the local body. The Meeting was largely attended and the proceedings were marked by a spirit of enthusiastic optimism. All, the speakers the Prince of Arcot, Dr. T.M. Nair, Mr. Sadagopachariar, and others were unanimously of opinion that the concessions were generous, wide reaching and of supreme importance. All were unanimous also in declaring that the reforms must be gratefully and unconditionally accepted, with a lively realisation of the fact that the people must immediately set about making themselves fit use the privileges granted. Dr. Nair summed up the effect of the reforms very

pertinently when he described the concessions as satisfying the aspirations of the people to be properly represented and to have adequate opportunities for discussion, which were all conceded in the scheme of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils. Dr. Nair agrees with us regarding the considerations which ought to prevail with regard to the admission of Indians to the Executive Councils. We are all perfectly familiar with the tendency of the Indian public to establish prescriptive rights, especially in the matter of public appointments. An office once held by an Indian very soon becomes, in the public mind, reserved for Indians, irrespective of the qualifications demanded for the post. That is why we said, when first commenting upon the scheme, that we were glad that Lord Monlay had laid down no infrangible rule in regard to these appointments, and that the qualification must be special competence in some department of the administration and not nationality. We take it that this is what Dr. Nair means when he says:- "We have never asked for any reservation, nor does Lord Monley recommend any such step. The Hindu or Mohamedan or any other Indian who will be appointed to the Executive Councils will be an expert in some branch or other of the administration", with increased facilities, the supply of duly qualified Indians will, no doubt, increases sufficiently to ensure the frequent appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils. The principle underlying the question is now the less sound, that it is the man that primarily matters, and not his nationality, though the peculiar knowledge of his

countrymen which an Indian possesses should be taken into account.

Finally, it is gratifying to note that Madras is solidly unanimous in rejecting the conditions that in some quarters it is thought should govern the acceptance of the scheme. In Bengal, there has been more than a disposition to demand the revacation of the Partition and an amnesty for political prisoners as conditions precedent to the acceptance and loyal working of the scheme, and the Homble Mr. Gokahale has also dallied with the proposal. That way, we are comvinced, lies extinction of all hope for peace in Bengal. We have a lively recollection of the condition and it is by no means certain that a period of freedian bliss and prosperity would follow upon the immediate abrogation of the partition. The matter of a general annesty for political prisoners as distinguished from the prepetrators of crimes is a matter that can be safely left to our administrators who have already given ample proof that they are not actuated by vindictiveness.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.
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28th December 1908.

The Indian National Congress has met in Madras under considerable difficulties. The opposition which manifested itself here under elsewhere when the preliminary arrangements were being made for its session in Madras hasm however, died down to some extent and there seems to some extent, and there seems to be every prospect of an undisturbed session. Inspite of the damour for unity where there is no agreement of views, those who wrecked the Congress at Surat last year have not been placed in a position to repeat their performance, and the Congress, freed from alien and disturbeing elements, has now an opportunity of proving its claim to be the expression of sober patriotism and enlightened Indian opinion. It will be time to judge of how for that claim has been made good when the resolutions have been passed and the session is over. For the present, it may be said that there is very little, if anything, in the Address delivered by Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswamy Rao C.I.E., chairman of the Reception Committee and bythe President, Dr. Rash Behair Ghose, to which moderate Indian opinion would take exception and not much to which reasonable persons of any party would object. The spirit of both Addresses angurs well for the success of the Madras session of the Congress and for the future of organised constitutional agitation in the Country. Both speakers have made ample acknowledgements of the generosity of the reforms about to be introduced into the administration of India. These proposals, said Mr. Krishnaswam

Rao, "are conceived ina liberal spirit and may be taken as a substantial instalment of reform," and, he added, "even more than the actual proposals, the spirit that dominates them is welcome", "Englis "English statesmanship", said Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, "which has never yet failed in any part of the world has risen to its fullest height in this critical time".

Both neither speakers were content with mere enlogy of the scheme published in Lord Monleys Despatch. Both realised that gratitude for the proposed concessions must take a practical form. "If ever there was a time when we ought to rally to the support of Government, of Law and Order", said Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, "it is this". It is not gratitude for concessions which alone impels to this support of Government, enlightened selfinterest and regard for the future of the movement directed by the Congress are equally introduced because they did not amount an organic change. For his part, he accepts the reforms whole heartedly though it is evident that he is dissatisfied with some of the details of the scheme. Apparently the system of election proposed by Lord Money is one of these unacceptable items, though Dr. Ghose's reference to it was non- committal Another point to which he directed criticism was the appointment of Indians to the Executive Council. He invited the Congress to consider whether the appointment of one Indian member to each executive council should not be guaranteed by statute, instead of being made as a matter of usage, subject to the discretion of the Secretary

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of state for the time being. It remains to be seen whether the Congress will succemb to the temptation to press for the guarantee to which the President referred. To do so will be natural enough, but it will be a mistake. We condially approve of the demobition of the carrier which excluded Indians for the Executive Councils, but it would be anomalous and mischievous to appoint one Member simply on racieal grounds when all the others are appointed on the ground of special competence in some department of the Administration. Congent motives. As Dr. Rash Behari Ghose says, on "Genuine cooperation with the British Government" depend future progress and the development of a fuller political life. His warning against abuse of the political power bestowed on Indians by the new scheme was earnest and opportune but we wish he had specified the abuse to which such power is most liable. There is, as Dr. Ghose has said, no finality in politics. It is impossible to say now that "Indians will not a generation or two hence enjoy a still larger share in the administration. But progress must come as the indirect result of a judicials exercise of the privileges now to be possessed by Indians for the purposes for which they have been given, and not as the result of attempts to use them directly for the seizure of other coveted privileges, otherwise there will be a reaction We repeat that we wish Dr. Rash Behari Ghose had taken the opportunity of making clear to his audience the the danger of a course which the more impatent and

discontended are only too likely to follow, unless checked by those of their leaders who realise that if todays opportunities are well used, the morrow need not be a subject for anxiety.

The MailRs- - Dt. 13-8-1912.

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PROTESTS AGAINST LORD CREWE.

The proceedings at yesterday's public meeting in Madras., make it abundantly clear that there is nearly or quite, as much dissatisfaction here, amoung Indians, as elsewhere in India with Lord Crewe's interpretation of the famous third paragraph of the Government of India's Despatch on the recent changes, and with the composition of the Public Service Commission. The two matters, of course, in very defferent categories. The Public Service Commission is an affair of practical politics with which we are concerned at the present time, and the effect of its recommendations will begin to be gelt within two or three years. Lord Crewe's interpretations of the paragraph in the Government of India's despatch raised highly important questions of policy which are not likely to come within the view of the practical politician for a generation at least, and when, if even, the great question of self-government in the colonial sense for India is brought up for practical treatment, neither the government of India's despatch nor the Secretary of State's rejection of its obvious, though perhaps unintended, meaning may count for much. Dr. Nair make this last point in regard to Lord Crewe's speeches; he hardly save that reference, thirty or fort y years hence, to a variously interpreted paragraph in a Government of India Despatch may be not much more impressive than exhumation of a secretary of state's speeches from Hansard . We were amoung the first to demand an explantion of the variance between the Secretary's and the Under secretaries interpretation of the passage in the Despatch, and we have devoted a good deal of attention to Lord Crewe's unconvincing explanation. But it seems tous that Indian ppinion, at any rate in Bengal and Madras , in in danger of exaggerating the importance

of both the Despatch and the Secretary of State's speeches on it. If, as Indian publicists so frequently content, no one can limit the future development of India, that contention cuts both ways. The paragraph in the Government of India's despatch foreshaowing certain developments towards colonial self-government may be no mere effective thirty years hence than Lord Crewe's speeches. In our view, the importance of both is simply in the effect the proclamation or denial of a distant goal may have on present policy. In the eventual settlement supposing there is one, nothing said now is likely to have much weight.

There is one point to which we would like to draw the attention of Lord Crewe and the members of the Public Service Commission. It was pointed out by one of the speakers at yesterday's meeting in Madras that the appointment of more Indians to the higher positions in the Public services would not content them. That is quite correct, and it is important that the fact should be firmly grasped, for the Public Service Commission contains members who are only too likely to suppose that the creation of special facilities for the admission of Indians to certain higher appointments is politically so desirable that administrative considerations should count for little or nothing. If Indians were excluded from high office under the State, there would certainly be great force in such an opinion. It would be admissable to risk administrative difficulties in order to prove to the King Emperior's Indian subjects that they were not being excluded on principle. But, as a matter of fact, what do we find. There are Indians in the India Council, the Viceroy's Council and in the Executive Councils of Madras, Bombay and Bengal. As for Indians in the Public Services, taking into considerations only appointments carrying salaries of Rs,500 and more a month, we find that Indians hold 194 such appointments as against 4,466 held by Europeans

and Eurasians. The figures for Indians may seem small; but comparing the figures for 1867 with those for 1910, we find that while the increase in the number of Europeans and Eurasians in such appointments has been only 118 percent, the increase in the number of Indians has been 590 per cent It is celar that a continuation of present tendencies will very largely substitute Indian for European and Eurasian ~~in such appointments has been only 118 percent, the increase in the number of Indians has been~~ agencies, and that generally speaking, special measures are not necessary for political reasons. This brings us to the point we wish to make. As political considerations do not necessitate special measures to increase the proportion of Indians in higher appointments under the State, since that proportion is rising with rapidity, and as Indians themselves rightly say that an increase, in appointments held by them will not be regarded as a great political boon, the question ought to be dealt with almost entirely as an administrative question. Attempts to score politically by free admission or more exclusion of Indians fnom any branch of the Public Service would be serious errors.

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The Mail- Dt. 2-11-1912.

MADRAS COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

If we may judge from numerous critici,s and complaints that we have lately heard, and received, there is a good deal of public dissatisfaction with the methods adopted by some candidates for election to the Madras Legislative Council . It is quite likely that some of them are false and that others have been exaggerated by supporters of rival candidates. But there can be hardly be an entire lack of foundation for the criticism to which we have referred, and it is perhaps opportune to call the mind the consideration which candidates and electors ought to keep before them. With the introduction of the Council reforms greater responsibilities were cast on the councils and much larger opportunities were given to non-official members. In order that those responsibilities and opportunities may be rightly discharged and utilised,, it is necessary that the choice of the electorate should be both judicious and unfettered. The need for a wise choice is too obvious to need enforcing, but in many quarters the e tests of eligibility applies by electors are unsatisfactory. To too many the most suitable candidate appears to be the one who has most sedulously kept himself in the public view by diligent attendance at public meetings of all kinds; by contributions to every kind of controversey and by those speeches vaguely demanding progress which result in nothing but pressure on space in newspapers. A large proportion of Indian public men surrender too much of their time and energy on an exposition of general principles and in demands for amelioration of canditions they have not sufficiently studies. They are not altogether to be balmed, however, for

if electors are impressed by that kind of thing, candidates will naturally indulge in it.

Wex turn to the suggestions that have been made that some undue influence is being exercised in more to two cases by local magnates. Whether the particular suggestions we have in mind are true or not, suspicion is enough to lower public confidence in candidates who may be thought to owe their success to influential support, given in more or less illegitimate ways. Candidates, with wery few exceptions, will do what they beleive is conducive to success, even if it happens to be something of which at heart they do not approve. It may bot be an exalted policy, but it is a very natural one, and a man need not be corrupt or cynical to follow it, within, certain limits for a candidate can do nothing until he is elected, and he may argue that he has a choice between getting into a position by rather improper means to render public service and not getting into it at all. It is for the electorate show that the adoption of somewhat dubious methods does not conduce to success. Even amoung those who adopt them there mustmust be many who would be glad to be freed from the temptation to do so, and, regarded from this point of view, some of the criticisms and complaints to which we have referred, even, if ill founded in the particular cases to which they allude may do good.

There is no reason to take a pessimistic view of public life in this Presidency. In certain instances an obviously mediocre man may have been engineered into prominence, and in certain others gentelmen who have specialised in invictive for invective's sake may have secured some success, But there has never been lacking a leanen of real ability

and publâc spirit. What is more, in this Presidency public life has generally been sober enough to give moderate men their chance. There is however, a regrettable amount of jealousky in some of the tontests, or rather in the preliminary to the contests. A perusal of the appeals and manifests issueâ is distinctly amusing to any one who can read a little between the lines but the spirit of some of those productions leaves a good deal to be desired. This of course, like the other evils to which reference has been made, is not peculiar to this Presidency or to this country; but this country is not given over to party politcs, and at any xrate open opposition would be better than some of the intrigues conducted. Judging by results, there is not much of which complaint need be made, but evils in electoral practice grow rapidly, and every endeavour should be made to elâminate private intrigue from the methods of candidates and their supporters. After all, though the council reforms have much increased the influence of Non-official members on public affairs, their power is largely moral.. It is evidently of the utmost importance that the non-official members should be genuinely representative that their approval or opposition should have the highest moral value for it is mainly that, and not the mere number of votes, which will shape policy under existing conditions.

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The Mail- Dt. 5-5-1913.

THE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

The Presidential address at the Madras Provincial Conference at Trichinopoly delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. M.Ramachandra Rao, is in many ways an interesting and stimulating review of political condition. We cannot but regret, however, that he should have prefaced it with the conventioned protest against repressive legislation, in this case against the conspiracy Act. We must be excused if one do not take that kind of thing very seriously. It is doubtless quite sincere, but the denunciation of any measure which could conceivably result in the punishment of certain types of wrong doers has become habitual on these occasions, ~~and estimable become habitual on these occasions~~, and estimable persons who could not possibly be associated with any of the evils against which repressive legislation is aimed one to ~~take~~ talk solembly of the grave menace to the liberty of the law abiding citizens involved in such laws. Mr.Ramachandra Rao left this subject to discess the issues before the Public Services Commission. He is much concerned about the attitude of the bureaucracy and the Anglo-Indian Press, and he is a good deal too ready to ascribe to race feeling an attitude mainly and in some cases wholly, due to on perception of administrative objections to special measures for the increase of the Indian element in the Indian Civil Service. We are bound to add that there is some justice in his criticism of those who regard the speedy and wholesale substitution of Indian for British Officers in point of administrative capacity. Admitting that the substitution might be very much more gradual than is generally supposed by critics, and acknowledging the ability of Indians, the main objections to simultaneous examinations remain unaffected. As we understand it,

the very basis of any reasonable claim for the increase of the Indian element in the Service must be the assumption that Indian officers are capable of maintaining the essential British characteristics of the administration. That being the case, iit follows that the Indians to whose increase in the service there can be no proper objection and those who are qualified to preserve British charactertistics, that is, those who have breathed the atmosphere of British Universities and come into more or less close touch with English life. An examination held in India would encourage and facilitate the entrance of quite another class of Indians, and while it would thus diminish the British character of the Service, it would also weaken esprit de corps' by the creation of thr classes of officers, British, Indians who had entered through the examination in London, and Indians who had passed the examination in India. Of the other objections, frequently enough set forth in our columns to make their recapitulation here unnecessary, Mr.Ramachandra Rao take no notice. Race feeling and the desire of vested interests to preserve a monopolu are for purpose more convenient explanations of opinions he dislikes.

Passing to district administration, Mr. Ramachandra Rao regrets that it has hot been liberalised by the association of the people with the executive. He makes the extraordinary assertion that the present Dt. officer has greater powers than his predecessor of thirty years ago." That is certainly not correct, and it is astonishing that Mr. Ramachandra Rao, who is well acquaInted with District administration should make such a statement without adducing the least evidence in support of it. Of course, decentralisation is doing something for the increase of the power of the District officer, but what that really

amounts to is little more than this- in regard to matters in which ninety nine ti mes out of hundred the Dt. officer's opinion has had to be accepted, he is to be spared the formality of reference. We are quite prepared to admit the possibility of further association of the people with District administration, by some kind of delegation, within limits, to ~~xxx~~ Local Bodies; but these seems to us to be many serious objections to the idea of District councils. Executive work is very different from legislative work, and to hamper executive officers by saddling them with councils is for from desirable. Moreover, there are objections to restricting the District Officer's freedom to consult whom he chooses and how he chooses by giving him a definite body of advisers. Nor can be accept the pleasant assumption that the interests of the masses are best represented by aa small clique at head quarters. On the other hand, we are willing to go a long way with Mr. Ramachandra Rao as regards the organisation of village administration. It is indeedregrettable that the corporate life of the village should have been so weakened during a period in which the corporate life of the larger units has been assiduously fostered. We recognise difficulties, for institutions like the Panchayat, one weakened or killed, are extremely hard to revive. Their authority was traditional, and the tradition has been interrupted . On the whole, however, we are not pessimistic on the subject. If gentelmen who grow elequent over representative instutions and rejoice in ingenuiously devised paper constitutions are not allowed to impose their ideas on unsophisticated communities, village organisation may be made a success.

We must pass over a good deal of interesting and debatable matter in Mr. Rao's references to Land Revenue to Education and to other questions. His Address concluded

with a demand for more generous treatment of Madras in fi finance by the Government of India, and with some remarks on the position of Indians in South Africa. As regards the formmer subject, we should prefer an alteration of matters, on lines we indicated in discussin Sir Arnold Stuarts Budget speech, to an increase of generosity in the working of the existing method. This need not be pressed now, however, for them is reason to hope that Sir William Mayor will be disposed to modify policy on any basis acceptable to Indian and Anglo-India opinion. Still. since Mr. Gokhale's visit a new spirit has been working in south Africa, and we are for from desparing that ultimately a tolerable, if not a satisfac settlement will be m reached. Meanwhile, it is well th this painful subject should be discussed with the appreciation of the South African point of view displaye by Mr.Gokhale himself.

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The Mail. Dt. 5-3-1915. 115

THE LATE MR. GOKHALE.

Seldom hasx such universal mourning marked the death of a public man in India as that which has followed the death of Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, and seldom has so estimated a measure of praise been accorded to the Public work and private work of a man who was more widely known and more universally respected than most of the great Indian politicians and public men who have left their mark on modern India so nemerous andx genuine have been those expressions of regret and so eloquent these tributes of praise that it was difficult to imagine that there was anything further left to say at the Public meeting held in Madras yesterday to do honour to his memory and to determine the form that the Madras memorial of his was to take. The meeting was thoroughly representative of the citizens of Madras. Men were there who, much as they valued out respected the deceased patriot, were unable to agree with all his views; but that did not prevent them from laying aside those differences and paying a warm and generous tribute to his genious and his worth. Of the many eulogies delivered at the Meeting two stand out as particularly noteworthy, namely, those of the Chairman, the Hon'ble Mr. P.S.Sivaswamy Iyer, and of the Hon'ble Sir Harold Stuart. Among the many attempts that have been made to account for the universal respect- popularity is too common a word to use in connection with such a man- in which Mr. Gokhale was held, few have been so convincing or so appropriate as those discovered by Mr.Sivaswamy Iyer when he epitomised his qualifications as those Mr.Gokhale laid down for those who would join the Servants of India Society. It is given to few to realise their own ideals, but Mr.Gokhale did, and we recognise now how well he

succeeded. Sir Harold Stuart's generous testimony to greatness of a friend and political opponent will rank amoung the many fine appreciations that have been said by officials, from H.E. the Viceroy downwards, who worked with Mr. Gokhale and who learned to respect the high motives and the singleness of purpose that impelled him in all he did. One remarkable characteri of the man was pointed out by Sir Harold Stuart, and th was his enthusiasm when his mental equipment was again such an attitude. We doubt whether a finer tribute h been paid by one political opponent to another than is contained in the following passage:- "His sympathy and ness were not created by nor did they produce any flabbiness of conviction. His opinions were always strongly held, but held without betterness, and this spirit of fiarness, which was one of his marked charac tics, produced one happy effect.viz. fairness in his opponents, and in the many debates in which he played successful a part there was neither bitterness nor ran The best and most appropriate memorial to such a man is statue, to be a perpetual reminder of the man and an incentive to future generations of Indians, and support for the work of the Servants of India Society, work which, aimed his many activities, he had most at heart. These are the orms which the Madras memorials will take, but we are equally glad to learn that Mr. S.Srinivasa Iyengar, a great admirer of Mr.Gokhale, intends to establish another equally appropriate memori He has generously subscribed Rs.8,000 as an endowment to the Madras University to commemorate the Name of Mr. Gokhale, his object being to stimulate the study of Indian Economics, a science in which Mr. Gokhale specialised before devoting himself to public work.

Mail- Dt.15-5-1916.

MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

The speeches delivered today, at the Madras Provincial conference at Madura, by the Rajh of Ramnad chairman of the Receiption Committee, and the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur P.Kesva Pillay, the President, shed no very ne light on the political situation either local or Imperial. Both are notably moderate in their tone, in fact the Rajah of Ramnad abstains almost altogether from critic of the powers~~xthat xx~~ and has devoted a large protion of his address to an interesting and painstaking historical review, which students of South Indian antiquities may persue with pleasure and profit. One portion of his speech is, however, open to misconstruction, for he ~~xxxx~~ complained that Indian non-official leaders of public opinion are too ready to accept office under Government. One would imagine that the quickest and most natural method of bringing about the improvements and ~~x~~ reform for which congress and conferences are agitating would be the economing of Government departments with able and public spirited officials, the very men who are pledged to see the reforms carried through. The speech of Mr. Kesava Pillay is as breezy and opposite as was to be expected from this enthusiastic and experienced public workder. He discesses a number of important matters, and has, undoubtedly, the faculty, when he wishes to force home an argument, of hitting his nail very squarely on the head. We are glad to see that he frankly acknowledges the importance of the reforms that have been introduced in the Legislative Councils, which he considers have effected an "immense improvement" of the situation. He contrasts the attitude of the official towards the non-official members in pre-reform days and now, and instances

the historic if somewhat painful incident of the troucing he himself received in 1909, at the hands of the then, Governor and the Hon'ble Mr. Forbes, in connection with a speech on the administration of the Jail Department. That such an incident is extremely unlikely to occur nowadays we readily concede, but we venture to suggest that this may be done, not only to the disappearance of old type of official member with his angy impatience of criticism, contemptuous and superior air," a type belonging, perhpas more. to fiction than fact, but also, in some degree to a modification of the old uncompromising opposition of the non-official, to a growing willingness to admit that there may be two sides to a question, and to the more careful collection of facts and a more moderate manner of setting them forth. Mr. Kesava Pillays views on decentralisation and the urgent need for the development of the local governmen t were very clearly and forcibly expressed, and there is sound good sense in his suggestions for the cooperation of groups of districts in establishing and maintaining institutions too expensive for a single unit to construct. We have referred sometime ago to his efforts for the amelioration of the condition of Madras emigrants, and his criticisms of government policy in "abdicating their function of inspecting and controlling free emigration will be echoed by many who are familiar with the tricks of the professional recruiter. It is probable that something will have to be done in the future to protect the ignorant and easily deluded cooly, and when that time comes, we feel sure that the authorities will be willing to consider the suggestions Mr. Kesava Pillay has made.

The Mail- Dt. 22-6-1916.

INDIA'S FUTURE.

In the letter from Mr. Sriniviasa Sastri will be forced some criticism of our views on the representation of India in the Empire Parliament of the future. Like ourselves, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri strongly holds that the dominions cannot be given a share in the control of Indian non-local affairs if India is not at the same time given a share in the control of the whole Empire's foreign and defence policies. That we beleive to be the attitude taken up by practically every thoughtful and fairminded person in India, and we earnestly hope that the British Government and those who represent the dominions will bear in mind India's repugnance to the policy when they enter on the great task of Imperial reconstruction. But what are the alternatives to the policy we condemn? One is to brin g foreign affairs and defence and other large common interests under the new Imperial authority only so far as the British Isles and the self governing dominions are conferned, and to leave India under the British isles. That is a thoroughly unpracticable idea. India is so imporant a faction in foreign affairs and in defence that she must have a place in the Empire Parliament and not merely be managed by the local legislature of the British isles. This point, indeed, is too obvious to need labouring A second alternative is to give India Home Rule and place her on identically the same basis as Australia or Canada in respect of both her internal affairs, which ~~arm~~ we are not now considering, and of her share in the joint affairs of the units making up the Empire. This proposal we regard with great apprehension, for reasons very briefly stated by us, which in view of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's criticisms,

we will restate more amply.

He will admit that India could not expect to combine the privileges of a self-governing dominion with those of a special protege of great Britain. She could not at one moment stand on her own feet like Australia or Canada and at the next claim special support from great Britian on the ground that she was at a disadvantage in a group of Dominions, all the rest of which had more in common with each other than with her. Well, cannot Mr.Srinivasa sastri see that she would frequently go to the wall in such an assembly as the Empire Parliament? If he believes otherwise, than we fear he is simply yielding to the temptation to believe what is conveneient. The dominions have had little direct interest in India. They do not share the languages, the culture, the social organisation, the religious faiths of the vast mass of India's people. They are yougg democracies, and this is a very ancient coubtry in which feudal ideas still linger and will continue to exist for generations. The Dominions have blood relationship and linguistic, intellectual social and religious ties between themselves and the British Isles, and the steady influx of immigrants from those isles assists in keeping up the relationship. Now the only part of the selfvoerning Empire with which India is in the real touch is great Britian herself- Though there is much ignorance of India, still there is always in Great Britian a certain body of experts on India affairs and a certain amount of real sentiment towards India. We are enable to regard as the highest wisdom a policy of throwing away that asset, plunging into the most hazardous political experiment ever made on a large scale, and setting the India of a few thousand intellectuals to contend in the Empire Parliament with

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wisdom a policy of throwing away that asset, plunging into the most hazardous political experiment ever made. on a large scale, and setting the India of a few thousand intellectuals to contend in the Empire Parliament with the dominions. It seems to us very much sx wise to maintain with modifications, the special relationship between India and great Britian so as to be able to use the influence of the most powerful unit in the new Empire system.

We know, of course, that we are addressing these words to many who will refust to hear them. "But that means we are not tohave Home Rule". they say in horror, as if that were a final answer. With political mystics we cannot undertake to argue, for to them the inner attitude of being able to murmur. "Home Rule" may becompensation for all the risks of gambling with the destines of 300 million of people. We speak to those who are sufficiently mundane to realise that the possession of Home Rule, when it means 200,000 people ruling 300,000,000 may give rather less joy to the latter than to the former and that a permanent and inefficient minority in the Parliament where the greatest issues will be decided may not be fully compensated by the existence o f non-official majoriti es in the supreme Indian legislature or even by the reduction of the Indian civil servant to the club of a debating society. To those who are not so observed with the idea of Home Rule as to be indifferent to all other consid... ...y in we say that the movement is most dangerous

respect of t he internal affairs of this country, but of its future relationship with the rest of the Empire. It is useless to stupely ourselves with catchwords. Facts are what they are, and there is no inherent and supernatural power in Home Rule to transform them.

We have proposed that the representation of India should be partly through persons elected by the non-offical members of the Viceroy's legislative council and partly through nominated ex-administrators. The proposal upsets Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's because it is not representation by Indians alone. But has he paused to sask:- "By what means can hw we most effectively assert India's claims in the view of the Dominions?" Of course, he has not we ask him to imagine the position of the purely Indian representatives with not a man among them who is even a name to the dominion peoples, not a man who has had previously to deal with Imperial problems in a position of authority. It is not an agreeable picture. Shall we, then, close our eyes, and point triumphantly to the fact that they are Indians. Well, of course, it would be very agreeable for educated India to have the maximum of purely Indian representation in the Empire Parliament, but this is a world in which most pleasures cloy at length, and who knows but that some Indian, less idealistic than his fellows, might after a time demand more result from their presence there and complain than an idea more secure internally, in closer relation with great Britin and using both British and Indians as representatives, would have hadmore influence and been better understood. As for the Secretary of State, our view is that, in order to keep the doser relationship with Great Britain, he should be chosen from amoung the representatives of

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of great Britain in the Empire Parliament. It is, perhaps a rather clumsy suggestion, but we imagine that in practic there would not be found any serious objection, and we of a less to know howelse to indicate clearly the speci connection between India and the British Isles. The lo British legislature would have nothin to do with India, that we should be spared meddling by the cranks whoxhave having entered Parliament as the representationsof the most pzarachial sections of the electorate are for ever eager to settle great Imperial issues on the lines proper to the management of affairs in their constutions.

There is room for very great differences of opinion on a subject so vast as that which we have under notice, and we are for from complaining fof criticisms. Without much discussion, from every point of view, there xx can be little likelihood of any sound scheme being evolved. Whatever divergence of views there may be in regard to Home Rule for India, we can all agree that it is necessary to secure for it is great country her due place in the reconstructed Empire, and if our ideal of the nayure of representation she should have one not in accord at lemist we can all work to make her claims knwon. Personally, as the result of a considerable amount of private correspondence with some of those who shape public opinions in the Dominions, we are hopeful.

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THE MAIL- 20-10-1916.

THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

We have endeavoured yesterday and today to make roor for the fullest possible reports of the judgments in the "New India" proceedings in the High Court. Ourreader will excuse us from the tiresom and superfluous busine of reviewing the activities of Mrs. Besant so far as t come within the view of the Press Act. Our opinion of work has been expressed too often and try plainly for a one to enquire what it is,. Further, we decided some ti ago to refrain from comment on her personal work, unles absolutely necessitated by consideration of the public interest. We deal here, therefore, not with the judgmen as they particularly concern Mrs. Besan or her paper, but with one of them as an authoritative statement of the position of journalists under the Press Act. At the outset we are constrained to say that we have perused the judgment delivered by the acting Chief Justice with surprise culminating the stupefaction. We intend nothing but respect towards His Lordship, and nothing ~~but respect towards His Lor~~ could be further from our purpose than th commonsense against the legal scholarship and experience that are his. If we are amazed, it is at our cross ignorance of the position which we, in common with all other journalists in this Presidency, have occupied. How perilous is the path we have walked confortably blind folded ! "The keeping of printing presses and the publication of newspapers becomes an extremely hazardous undertaking "under the Press Act, Mr Justice Abdur Rahim tells us.

And yet there appear to be some notable safeguards, not perhaps against forfeiture of security, but against the loss of reputation that might otherwise he consequent

on denunciation by the Government as persons guilty of promoting class hatred or of bringing the Government into contempt and exciting disaffection. For example, it is possible to ascribe "Prussianism", a thing now in dispute, to the Government, to describe an act of the Government as "an inhuman action and atrocious barbarity," to ssum up the existing state of affairs under the Defence of India Act" and the Press Act as "a condition of anarchy", to assert that W"we pay taxes to be wronged," to attribute secret personal motives to legal action taken by the Government ostensibly for the public safety, to condemn all European opinions in this country as that of "the most selfish vested interests"- it is possible, we gather,to say all these things andmany like them, and yet to be presented to the world by the highest and most impartial judicial authority as one wholly guiltless of the intention of creating class hatred or of disseminating disaffection or hatred against the Government. This, too, even though the author of such criticisms should happen to be expert in the use of language, well versed in controversey, and arrived at average at which the impulsiveness of youth can hardly be pleaded. If the perils of journalism under the Press act, as stated by Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, come as a surprise to us, so does the facility with which professional honour and patriotic reputation can be sound.

There is one thing more we learn from His Lordships judgement, unless we have seriously misapprehended its support. We have no legal competence, and it is so happens that we have never been engaged in a test case in any capacity. But if we had had to raise, let us say, the question of reserved railway accommodation, we should have acted in some such way as this. We should have secured the

...nding that they could not possibly be suspected of ...awling or any unseuhdness. We should have communicated ...r intention in an amicable way to the railway authorities, appointed a place and time, and arranged for a formal violation of rule, a formal objection by the railway authorities, and the consequent legal proceedings. We should not have addressed to all and sundry, including probably over impulsive boys and possibly more rowdies, a general invitation to violate the rule anyhow, anywhere and with a frequenty quite unnecessary for the purpose of a test case. We might even have been at the pains beforehand to inform ourselves of the fact that reservation of accommodation had been judicially decided to be legal, just as, before basing charges on the denial of arms to people in the Agency tracts, we might have taken the trouble to learn the fact that the Arms Act does not apply there. But we now see that our somewhat old world methods are not necessary, and and that disregard of such precautions would not result in Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim attributing to us malevolent intentions. Yet further, if we do not err in our interpretations of the acting Chief Justice's judgment, if it were our fortune to be battling for profound political charges in this country, we could safely and rightly reproduce from a English paper the most frantic variations on the theme that the price of liberty is martyrdom in an unflinching resistance to authority. Restoring to what we, as laymen, imagine to be a familiar legal personification, if we had a friend in England John Doe, who conducted with great vehemence, and instill greater obscruity, a paper called the "Battelcry" and if the aforesaid John Doe being opposed to compulsory military service, letus say, did incidentally deny that the state had any rights what seever over the individual and did interland his objections to compulsory

military service with anarchical maxims of g application, then notwithstanding that we an Doe were joint directors of a political leag transforming the administration of India, and notwith-standing that we published his article in a section of paper specially devoted to preaching that political transformation, we should be guiltless under the Press Act. And Why? Because there is no question of compulsory military service in India. That is, if th special contention of an English journalist be without point in India, his incidental incitements to defy authority and his parenthetical anarchism may be reproduced. We presume that the substitution of the mytical John Doe for the actual John scurr makes no dif except to the scurrility of the article in question. Such, then unless we have misunderstood. His Lordsh is the freedom which the journalist in India e n amids the pe isl of his "extremely hazardous ge, ch

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EXTRACT FROM
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A CONVERT TO HO
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10th May, 1917.

Mr. V.P. Madhana Rao's pr
at the opening of the Madras Provincial C
Cuddalore yesterday shows that he has become a
pronounced Home Ruler and has thrown overboard the
principles of a lifetime for the alluring message
of a new doctrine which he fondly believes holds out
a hope of salvation that he failed to find with the
old. We do not findfault with him for this, a man
is entitled to his own opinions, whether it be in
politics, religion, or anything else, provided of
course, that in the putting of his new views ~~into~~
into action batalers due measures of the conditions
of the people and the times and of the practicability
of the scheme he urges. It is however the fate of a
convert to a new ideal to be taken less seriously
than one who does not come within the category; his
past records stand behind him where with to judge
his present propossions. This, we think, will be
the fate of Mr. Madhava Rao's most recent utterance
on behalf of his new creed of wholesale and immediate
Home rule, for the nagueness of which he makes up his
unmeritied condemnation of breaucracy in India.

By this, we take it, he means the present
system of the administration, a bureaucrate in his
eyes being any unfortunate official of the British
Government. Why should a difference in nationality
or the place in which a man serves make him a bureauc
on the reverse, as the case may be? For instance,

va Rao when he was a Mysore
as that that we have known him longest
intimately he above reproach, whereas the
opean collection of an adjoining district be what
he is pleased to call a bureancrat of the deepest
dye who can do nothing right? We have come into
personal contact with Mr. Madhava Rao as an official
of Mysore morethan once , we have followed his career
with interest at the time, and while we freely admit
and have always given him credit for ability, Zeal
and sympathy for those entrusted to his care, we can
honestly say that in our opinion it was in no way
superior to that of many hundreds of British Officials,
Europeans and Indian, that we could mame; for, he it remembered
that, according to Mr, Madhava Rao's sweeping dicture
an Indian official is just as much a bureaucrat as
the European, as long as he wears the badge of
British official done. We are perfectly well
aware of the fact that this criticism is directed
of the system and not at individuals, and it comes
with an ill grade from the lips of one who in his own
way has been an official and, we contend, bureaucrat as
well, it matters not whether it he in British India
on in the Mysore State. It is quite as easy, and
it has been done, for a non official in Mysore
to call an official a bureaucrat, as it is for
Mr. Madhava rao to term all British officials,
bureauciats. If Mr. Madhava Rao has not, like some
others, waited till he had earned a competence
from British officials done before he turned and

and rent it, he at least has wanted till the rending process would not have been to hisdis advantage. We can understaad the demand for self Government in its own good time, or for Home Rule, immediately if not sooner, but what we cannot understand is the utter inability on unwillingness to recognise the merits of a system that has made this demand possible. It is a policy that is well known in this Country in every stage of public life and its various phases are easily followed. It usually, starts with an even-ciation of gratitude for mercies past received and a demand for more, the next stage is a belittling of what has already been done with exaggerated antici-pations of what may be expected from advocated reforms; and finally we have the stage that Mr. Madhava Rao, at the bidding of the Home Rule Party, has reached at one bound, namely the utter condemnation of a system to which he and all like him owe to much We can recognise also the strength of an argument that officials must adopt themselves to changed conditions but this is totally different from saying that we must absolutely abolish a long and even will tried system and hard over the administration to a body which has to prove its capacity.

This is the reason why we have devoted so much space to this aspect of his speech. The ground on which the claim for Home Rule is passed and the arguments of the opposition, including our own, are perfectly well known, and Mr. Rao in his speech

has done nothing to advance the one or to demolish the other. This part of his speech calls for no comment. We need only refer to the plaintive appeal to non Brahmins made by Mr. V. Srinivasachariar, Chairman.R.C. This does not mean that we gloat over the fact that these differences exist, but provies that the path to Home Rule has to be cleared of very serious obstacles before any ~~spec~~ appeal of the sort of Mr. Raos can be laid before the British democracy.

STUDENTS AND POLITICS.

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11th May, 1917.

The recent Government order concerning the participation of students in local politics has caused considerable stir in certain quarters in Madras, and will, no doubt, continue to provide the Home Rule this with additional matter for sensational agitation for some time to come. The order, as its priliminary phrases imply, has been directly inspired by the very undersirable and unfortunately successful attempts made by a certain political group to swell the numbers of its ranks by indiscriminately enlisting students therein. For sometime past, the more suber minded citizens of Madras, and particularly educationists and those interested in the Welfare of the student Community, have noted with alarm the the growing influenced exercused by the leaders of the group in the minds of the young men of Madras, and the rather belated action taken by Government should be welcomed by parents and guardians as well as by the educational authorities. The Government vote to which we refer is conceived in a very moderate spirit, very much on the lines indicated by us in an article written some time ago on the subject namely the vesting of discretion in college authorities as to which meetings it is desirable that students under their control should attend and no one but the most extreme can complain of the measures of harsh or oppressive in effect. The professors and Principals of the Madras colleges are, as we have pointed out, a sympathetic and able body of men, who can be trusted to administer the measure with a minimum of friction. As a matter of fact, however

the present, order which is begining to arouse so much agitation, really countries nothing new, it merely reiterates and defives more accurately the terms of what is known as the Riseley Circular, a ruling promulgated at the period of the zenith of the Swadeshi-Swaraj agitation, that ill conceived political movement, one of the most prominent features of which was the indiscriminate enrolment of students in political clubs known as sanitis with the most disastrous effects. In Bengal the position in this respect came most alarming, discipline in schools and colleges being totally undermind, and thousands of young men ruined and corrupted. It was to meet this situation that the Risely circular itself a most moderate, measure, was issued. The Risly circular provided that "graduate and undergraduate students on the rolls of colleges under public managemebt are forbidden to take an active part in political agitation directed against the authority of the Government", and Principles of colleges were vested with discretionary and disciplinary powers to enforce the orders.

The present measure provides that "no undergratuate student in any college and no pupil in any school shall be permitted to take part in any public political discussion, to attend political meetings, to join any political association or to to take part in any movement with which it is in the opinion of the educational authorities undesirable that persons in staty. Puppilin shall be associated",

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and the heads of schools and colleges are very wisely enjoined that, in enforcing this, "they should have regard not merely to the declared purposes of a meeting but to the persons who will address it" - a sound injunction since in the hands of political agitators the most innocent subjects can be used as pegs where on to hand violent and inflamnatory harangues. Parents and guardians are also appealed to cooperate in the enforcement of this measure. What there is to complain of in these very moderate restrictions it is difficult see. The powers conferred by the measure on college Principals, we We should think, inplicitly vested in all educational authorities, quite independent of this ruling; it is only right and just that masters and generous of youth", who are responsible for the conduct and character, as well as the instruction of their pupils, should have some measure of control over their outside activities, especially in regard to political movements, and what the present order really does is only to drawe the attention ofthe educational authoritiesto the seriousness of the existing situation, and suggest to them suitable methods whereby to deal with it. Those who look upon the measurers as harsh and oppressive and compare the position here with that in England, where students freely discuss all kind of political questions, forget or deliberately ignore the fact that whereas in England such discussions are purely academical and intelliectual in their scope, the political meetings which the Indian student affects are of a

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very different nature, and there is a very serious danger of our young men being led on, by the highly emotional, not to say hysterical, harangues of extremist politicaans to translate some of their political theories into action, as the wrethched Khanbere did at Nasik, as Khudiran Bose did at Muzaflerpore. Apart from this mote serious aspect of the question the participation of students in movements of the Home Rule type is apt to distract the attention of the youngmen from their studies, to inbue them with false and foolish ideas, and to ruin all collegiate discipline.

LORD PENT LAND AND HOME RULE.
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26th May, 1917.

The meeting of the Madras Legislative Council which has just closed at Ootacamund will be long remembered for the statesman and timely speech made by His Excellency the President on the subject of Home Rule and other matters connected with current Indian politics. The statement was as restrained in tone as it was weightly in substance, and being the considered views of a former leader of the British liberal Party, a member of a liberal Cabinet, as well as the heads of an Indian administration, who has been for years in the closast touch with Indian life and though, it cannott be dismissed as a piece of special pleading on behalf of bureancrat rule, as doubtless those people against whose misplaced activities it was directed will desire to dismiss it. Lord Pent land has hitherto kept studiously aloof from politics as politics have come to be understood of late years in India. His public utterances have been confined to the matters of administration with which he was of the time concerned, and that he should have felt it necessary to make such a departure at almost the end of his turn of office as Governor of this Presidency, shows how strongly he feels that certain political tendencies to which he referred constitute a grave menance to the moral and material will being of the empire. Self Government, as the best and most responsible elements in educated India understand it, is the natural and legitimate goal of many

patriotic Indian, but Home Rule, as it has been held up to the people in certain quarters of late the immediate placing of the executive Government in all control of Legislative Councils containing a large majority of elected members is a dream which we are confident will be placed outside the range of realisation by all who have practical knowledge of public affairs.

The danger of the Home Rule compaign lies not so much in the probability of the responsible and thoughtful members of the community being led astray in the pursist of the immediately unattainable, as in the creation of discontent among the far larger section who accept their political opinions ready made, and in the weakening of the authority of those responsible for the goal Government of the Country, by the "publication and wide s read dissemination of unblanced and intemperate criticism", perssistently directed against officials, which His Excellency says is employed as the most obvious, if not the main, instrument, of those responsible for the agitation. One may forgive the most hot headded advocate of self government so long as he confirms himself to the preaching of his ideal, and the demand for the realisation of that ideal immediately, though quite impracticable, is not in itself objectionable But to support that demand by a reckless compaign of calummy can, in the wonds of the Gevernor, have no other effect than to lower the authority of all Government officials and servants will all

classes, and especially among those large masses of the people who are unthinking and inexpe ienced in public affairs. It has another effect; it is directly responsible for creating that condition of things which renders necessary measures of restraint and control, which, in their turn, are held up as repressive and as examples of the unsympathetic attitude of a self-seeking bureancracy towards the natural aspirations of Indian patriotism. Lord Pentlands appeal to loyal Indians to dismiss all thoughts of the early grant of responsible self-Government will, of course, be a disappointment to many enthusiastic reformers, who see only the attainment of their desire and ignore the difficulties that lie in the way. They would prefer to be given the rains of control at once and are confident of their power to deal with the troubles which, they do not deny, might thereby be treated, as they rise, They point to the excellent results that have follow the ~~fi~~ gifst of more or less complete independence to communities in other parts of the would and ignore the special complescity and deli-cagy of the problem in India, as well as the fact that for many years to come Government by certain sections of the educated class would be, as far as the vast majority of Indians were concerned, as much government by a foreign bureacracy as at present.

We believe, with His Excellency the Governor, that mutual good will and understanding are growing in all parts of the Empire, and ~~th~~ we heartily testify to the truth of all he has said

in regard to the steady increase in the fitness of Indians to take part in the Administration of Indian affairs, as well as their growing sense of responsibility. Nothing but blindness or wilful misrepresentation could deny the desire if Britain to do what is right in her administration of the Indian Empire, or that the Empire, as a whole, welcomes, the increasing capacity of Indians to take part in that administration. Reform well come, but it will not be hastened bythe malenolence and misrepresentation which His Excellency so justly condemns, and if the slow and orderly change by which the Governor says the ideal is to be finally attained is too slow for many, it is, at any rate, progressive and may be quicknened as time goes on. It is a policy, more over, which is supported by a large number of the most enlightened and influential men that India has produced, but there is a danger that the agitation which is now being carried on will lead the educated classes here to expect that which will not come and in some cases" that which they know will not come", and it is obvious that this situation contains the elements of misunderstanding, of difficulty and possibly of friction. Such things cannot be allowed to go on, and His Excellency's waring madesit clear that if necessary it will be most effectiently stopped. We cannot do better than conclude this article with Lord Pentlands' own pregnant words. Speaking of this reckless "campaign of calumny", he said:- - - "It is brought with real danger, not onlyto good Government but in the law abiding spirit and the good will among all classes which at present

exist in this Presidency, and upon which all good Government must ultimately rest, and on behalf of my Government I call upon all who hear me on read these words for theirsupport in any section which the Government may be forced to take to discourage these unwise and dangerous methods and the extravagant aims which they are designed to further.

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THEGGOVERNMENT AND HOME RULE.

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16th June, 1917.

The communique issued by the Government of Madras yesterday may do some good, but we confess we are not very hopeful, for there are persons in the political life of Madras who find it convenient to write and talk as if the Government were implacably opposed to all ideas of progress, and these will not give up a convenient grievance simply because it is shown to be unreal. However, it was long ago said by william Blake that one should set down the truth rather to confirm one's own beliefs than to convert others, and the point need not be laboured. The Government have explained that thwy are in no way opposed to the very natural desire of educated Indians to acquire a longer share of political power and responsibility. The ideal of self Government within the Empire is not denounced by them. How could it be, when that is the logical outcome of British policy in India? Thus the Government have no wish to interfere with persons who, believing that India ought ultimately to achieve self government with in the Empire, are engaged in preparing the people for the successive stages through which India must pass before self government can be established. This education and preparatory work affords ample scope for all the energy that the most ambitions of the Indian leaders can passess, it is indeed so vast a task that lies

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before then that it is very difficult to understand how Indian leaders can look beyond it and talk as if it were already done. It is plain that selfgovernment is and must be conditional on:- - (1) an immensely wider extension of education, producing an electrorate which would be more than an infinitesional fraction of Inda's population; (2) the breaking down of immemorial barriers between the various races and classes of India (3) much greater experience in local, civic and higher administration, and (4) the creation of a far better instructed, more can did and more responsible criticism of public affairs under each of these heads there is need for manyyears of vigorous work before self government can be seen on the horizon of the practical politician. We say the practical politician, and not the official, advisedly for it is not the will of the Government but the condition of India which stands it the way of an early grant of self government. It would be impossible for self government to work without an electorate adequate in size and competent to understand public affairs, or in face of internal dissensions,,or in the absence of a very much more numerous body of Indians experienced in administration. The Government, ssnitten by some insanity of psendo benevolence, might give self government now, but the whole machinery would either break down calamitously at an early date, or an obgarchy would monopolise power. But the Home Rulers whose activity has come under the notice of the Government of Madras ignore all this. They are supposed to be engaged in preparing the people for self Government, their method of doing so is first, to abuse the existing administration in unmeasured terms, secondly, to persuade the people that they are fit for self government already.

There is no idea of a well considered development, keeping pacewith the advance of education of spcial reform, ~~x~~ of solidarily of feeling among the many races of India, of experience in the hundrum but essential tasks of administration. There is merely represent denunciation of the government as by law established and ~~retro~~ meterical proppecy of the incalculable benefits that would forth with result from the grant of selfgovernment.

It is preposterous to describe such work as educative and preparatory. It arouses hopes that cannot be satisfied within the definitive of most, perhaps of any, of those who hear the windly doctrine of Home Rule; and by the various with which the existing system is c criticised it excites feelings which very seriously finder that cooperation with Government without which educated Indians cannot acquire the administrative experience so essential if self government is ever to come. The sincere and practical worker for selfgovernment would say to educated India:--- "Tell the Government that you hope some day to manage your own affairs, but work ~~more~~/now with them, and prove that you are gradually gaining the ability so to manage your affairs. Remember that self government dropped on you as a boom from heaven would be useless or fatel if the ground had not been prepared for it. Therefore prepare the ground, by extending

education, encouraging social reform, promoting genuine unity, and insisting on the highest standard of honour and candour in public life. Do not allay yourself with violent and dis reputable persons or bodies, even thought they may be working for the same political charge. Take heed of the fact that when you do ~~set~~ get self government you will need for your administrators the respect and obedience of the people, which you certainly will not have if, in the present, you teach your youths to deride or defy the authority now existing. Home far other is the counsel of the Home Rulers of whom His Excellency Lord Pentland has spoken.

The foremost of these Home Rulers is Mrs. Besant. We would prefer to treat this subject broadly, without personalities, but it has become necessary to set down the real truth about her position We have been at some pains for a long time past to ascertain her relation to educated Indians, and though what we are about to say will be boldly contradicted in public, we are satisfied it ~~boldly~~ represents the truth as whispered amongst most of those who seem to be her supporters. At the bottom of their minds they know she is on many points utterly mistaken, and that she is always too important, too eager to seize the formost place in the glare of publicity, too reckless in criticism, to be their leader. They have only a limited sympathy. With her object, and for her methods they have no liking at all. But they think that her violent assaults on the existing system, unfair

though they privately admit them to be, will make in it adunt, possibly a breach, of which they will hereafter be able to anvail themselves. They are anxious when they ponder many of the results of her perferred appeals to youthfull adherents, they would not make appeals themselves, but they fancy that the energy thus called up will be useful later on, when more discretly directed by themselves. They are not supported in any real sense, they are persons watching, with considerable inward misgiving, though without ward applause, tactics by which they hope ultimately to profit. Any uproar they may create over the measures today taken to curb her activity, and that of her associates Messrs Arundale and Wadia, must be estimated with these facts in mind, and not regarded as implying full agreement with her.

We have before this ventured to warn educated Indians against this kind of futile Machianelliamsm the "United front", with any amount of disunion behind, it, the backing of any one, be it Mr. Tilak or Mrs. Besant, who happens to be belabouring the buraacracy, when the backers know the attack is unfair. It seems enormously clever, it decrives no one, except very young men, who are thus led by the 'moderate' to admire also, if not chiefly, the "extremists". It creates in the minds of officials, and of observant non official Europeans in this country, the depressing doubts of the fairness and moral courage of educated

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Indians whom they know to be in many ways far more reasonable in views than they allow themselves to be in public. It drags perfectly reputable and natural ideals, like that of a self government reached by proper stages, into the most sorbid.m It creates suspicious and anscieties which made it ever more difficult for one side, to concede a point or the other to accept a gift with good grace. It is poisoning public life in this country.

We know that the Home Rulers claim a monopoly of solititude for India. But there are others who care for her, amongst than Englishmen whose farefathers have served her, who were themselves born within her bonders and in manhood felt irresistably, drawn back to her, who eat her salt now. Some of these have hoped to see her progressing, not by ~~ex~~ epileptic bounds on as a screaming barridon, but like a queen yet a minor guided by the wisest of her alien guardians as wells as of her countryman, going forward calmly and with dignity, by stages which forethough has prudently assigned, to her distant but surely appointed place among her sisters of the world greatest Empire. The heart within these men growd sick, and it may be sometimes their words grow too bitter, when they ~~the~~ see violence, backed up by the selfdeceiving craftiness of opportunism, endangering that hope.

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"SWADESHI"

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28th June 1917.

The streets of Madras have been placarded for some days, with exhortations e to the public to "take the Swadeshi vow", at recent Nationalist meetings speakers have called upon their audience to take this vow, and then are other indications that a very determind attempt is being made to revive the political aspect of the moribund "Swadeshi" movement We say, admisedly, the political aspect, because there is no doubt that the movement has another side, as a genuine and thoroughly landable, though in method sometimes injudicious, attempts to revive decaying Indian industries and faster the growth of new oves. At first sight, the "swadeshi" now, which is merely the declaration of a resolve to purchase, so far as they are obtainable, Indian in preference to foreign made goods, would appear to be a praise worthy attempt to promote Indian economic development, but in considering the present effort to force it on the people of the Presidency, we have to consider the attendant circumstances, and to seek the reason for the revival of the agitation of the present juncture. The search presents x no difficulties, since the promoters of the movement are perfect frank as to their objects. The raison d'etre' of the agitation is not mainly, or even secondarily, economic. A poster, obtentatiously displayed outside the head quarters of the organisation, tells us that the sole object ispolitical in its nature.

"one way to obtain Home Rule", the public are told", is to take the "Swadeshi" now which reunited Bengal". Here, then, we have the plan of campaign. The "Swadeshi" movement is to be used in an attempt to force the Government to recognise the aims of the Home Rulers; and the campaign is to be based on that siniister movement which, initiated in reprisal against the partition of Bengal, threw the Province into a condition of anarchy, from which it have even now hardly recovered.

. . The leaders of Indian Public opinion would be well advised if, at this initial stage, they firmly and definitely disassociated themselves from this campaign, without prejudice to support of any genuine and soberly directed movement in favour of indigenous manufactures, the development of which is sincerely desired by the Government and must be welcome to all friends of India.

"HOME RULERS"
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3rd August, 1917.

When all the Indian communities have had their say in regard to Home Rule, we cannot help thinking that the task of deciding will be a for none complex question that even the Home Rulers have imagined it to be. We have to day received two memorials whichhave been submitted to His Excellency the Governor, one from the Hindu and Christian Nadars of the Madras Presidency and the other from the Indian Christians of South India. In the first the memorialists say:--- "We fear that the present attempt of the "Home Rulers" for the assumption of self-Government would bring the country from bad to worse, and we therefore wish still more for the betterment of the whole of India under direct British contro. In case, however, the Government are prepared to consider the scheme of the Home rulers, they advance a claim for being given control of affairs in the Tamil country, at least in the District of Tinnevelly, Madura and Ramand - the original Pardianaad, or Country of the Madras. The Indian christians of South India in their memorial, after setting out statistics regarding their literacy and educational qualifications, claim that these show that they are quite strong enough to govern this own country. "If at any

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time after the war", they say, "a settlement he make about Home Rule, we most respectfully submit that the Indian christians of South India should be given a leading place in the autonomy under the patronage of the British".

PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

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16th August, 1917.

The Madras Congress Committee, after a delbate which we understand was not altogether one dided, has given its approval to passive resistance, "in so far as it involves opposition to allin just and unconstitutional orders against the carrying on of constitutional agitation and also against the prohibiting of public meetings peacefully and constitutionally conducted to protest against the unjust and e un constitutional orders of internmeet and against the repressive policy of Government". Before discussing the broader aspects of passive resistance, it may be well for us to define our ttitude resistance, it may be well for us to define our attitude towards official action against public meetings of protest It would be obused to deny that the Government have every right to prohibit meetings which endanger peace. But we do not believe in frequent use of the power to do so. Public political meetings are a good deal of a show every where, and in India their artificial character is pretty clearly exposed. But they are the principal recreation of the educated Indian, who feels that any day got through without attendance at one is a day last. Our intellectuals lisp resolutions in their cradles,and theirlast word when death closures the debate is a firm but constitutional protest against that antacratic interference with freedom of speech, It was said of old time:-

A scots idea of heaven to come.
Is to argur his creator deunk.

It is tnee enough about scotman, but still trues of the educated Indian of today. Because we do not happen to share this old enthusiasm, because we find it at thimes more than a little comic, let us not needless irritate people who live from public meeting to public meeting. Within reason, we would counsel leniency towards public meetings even though they may be meetings of protest and characterised by ill temper.

But the passive resistance which is now being widely advertised is by no means directed only against prohibition of meetings of protest. The idea behind it is that unless the Government, abilicating all discretion, at once agree to yeild Home Rule, the people should refuse to cooperate with them. We shall we know, be accused to of putting this unfairly but we write with knowledge. To the challenge thus thrown out we one strongly of opinion the Government should make an unhesitating reply. Those who have chosen to dissociate themselves from the Government in work for the country should be compelled to remain in that aloof position. It will be said we are counselting extreme measures. But consider the situation. The Empire is waging the mightiest war in the wonlds history India is seffering from it less than any other part of the Empire the scarcely more than many neutrals; there is not a single burden on the people which can fairly be ascribed to the malenolence or indifference of the administration, and a handful of politicians stand up to threaten the Government with passive resistance.

But Indians have not self Government? We should be the last to say that manis to live by bread alone, and that the security and prosperity the British 'RAJ' confers upon Indians should deaden all desire for political power. Increase in the share which Indians have in the management of India's affairs, however, is not one of these things which if not granted at once means national ruin or dishonour. We sincerely hope a more forward will be made, with due can , on the near future, but if reform were deferred ten years it would not constitute, one ofthose grievous wrongs which justify coercion of the Government. The threat of passive resistance proceeds from those who have no idea of the present temper of the British people. These academic persons do not know what they are playing with. Let them get a few of their ideas translated into action obstructing the Government, and they will get from a "democracy" now desciplined a reply which will surprise them. There is no room in these days for the obstruction-ist be Indian or British, who would throw the administration out of gear in order to secure some political gain. And it is one of the peculiarities of the British people that they take threats very ill when they have at length been prodded into realising that they really are being threatened.

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PASSIVE RESISTANCE.
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27th August, 1917.

It is a matter for fegret that the Madras Provincial Conference, at its meeting in the Gokhale Hall on Saturday, should have spurned the good advice of its Chairman, Dewan Bahadur Kesava Pillay, and passed instead, a resolution in favour of "passive Resistance". The arguments advanced by the Dewan Bahadur were sound, and would carry weight with lend headed folk. In the first place, the Empire is at War. That, for every patriotic member of it, should be enough, to it every other consideration should be subordinatedl,.and the people of the Empire as a whole will not forget, on readily forgive, any departture from this very sound ~~privilige~~ principle.~~forgi~~v In the second place, the Secretary of State for India, whose attitude towards Indian aspirations is known to be sympathetic, is about to visit this Country for the express of ~~familiarisingx~~ familiarising himself with the Indian standpoint. "To queen the pitch" on the eve of his arrival would be poor policy - from any point of view. Apparently the agitators have a lee in their bonnet which will not allow them to think of anything else. The internment of a few mischief making extremists is construed by the hotbloods as an offence against constitutional agitation. However, what does not constitute.. Constitutional agitation must be left to the authorities, whose judgement after centuries of experience and enlightence rule cannot highly be laid aside. The political growth of India, as all same students of the situation

will admit, has not advanced sufficiently to permit of the matter being left to the masses It was thomas carlyse, we believe, who remarked not many years ago, that the population of England Consisted of "somethirty" million people, mostly fools. "The great historian, we forcy, would hardly pass a less severe judgement on the people of India today, whose political sense is still far behind that even of victorian England.

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MRS.BEANTS RELEASE, A RUMOUR.
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17th September, 1917.

No Official information is available, but we understand from such enquiries as we have been able to make that Mrs. Besant has not yet received any communication regarding her release and the conditions of it. Release is rumoured in Madras from hour to hour but we still think that it will not be easy to satify the Government and are certain that they will through the "not guilty and do not propose to be any guilter" formula which her supporters think will free her. Her release on unsatisfactory of the situation, and measures are beinf taken by European and conservative Indian opinion to keep the Secretary of State informed of the opposition to it. Though the General public may hear very little of it, European opinion on the matter is now thoroughly organised and in touch with those who in England are capable of voicing it effectively, and the letter are themselves concerting action. It rests with Mr. Montagu whether this matter shall be put to the issue. We would greatly prefer to avoid agitation of even the most legitimate kind during this time of War. If it is forced on us by action destruct ve of the authority of the Government and dangerous to India , the means are available in India, and in England, where one of the most distinguished administrators this country has known has communicated to our Warden correspondent his willingness to lead organised protest. One caple, and Mr. Montagu will have an experience new to Secretaries of State.

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MRS. BESANTS RELEASE.
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19th September, 1917.

The Primary duty of Every Government is to guard the public peace, and if the power of taking precautionary measures to that end be desired the Government, Administration becomes, impossible. That is what has happened in Madras. In theory, of course, the Government of Madras still have power to intern dangerous agitators in fact, if has been made impossible to exercise. it. There is only one course open to His Excellency the Governor and his collegues, and we assure them of solid European support if they see fit to take it. Unofficial European opinion, fully consulted b us both before and after Mrs. Besants release, is unanimous in declaring that, in such circumstances as the present, there is only one course of action consistent with the official and personal dignity of the members of the Government. We say this not in the temper of the moment, but after careful estimate of the whole situation from the moment when, long before any other paper in India, we became aware of the action which was contemplated by the Secretary of State. Action of that kind by the Government of Madras ought to be accompanied or swiftly followed by similar action on the part of every Provincial Government, for it is mere accident that this crisis has arisen in Madras. It is not with any policy or circumstances, peculiar to Madras that Mrs. Besant has dealt in that stanful campaign which a she is now released to resume; she has assailed British Policy in India as a whole,

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and m smiched the character of the entire British population in India. Not a Provincial Administration but has been abused by her and he associates. Nor is it only in Madras that measures have had to be taken against her; Lord Willingdon has had to prohibit her entry into the Bombay Presidency. It so happens that for the last two years for political work has been carried on chiefly from Madras, but she might have chosen to work from a centre in any other Province, and had she done so, the Government there would have been forced successively total a such action and to suffer and humiliation as the Government of Madras took and have suffered. Tommorrow she, not content with her recent victory, may challenge the right of Lord Willingdon to exclude her from Bomaby; or may decide that, Madras being syfficiently sat rated with her doctrines, the education of Bengal or of the United Provinces or of the Punjab should be undertaken. Are the Governors and lientenant governors of those Provinces ready to acquince in her activities? If not, do they think they can check, her, after release in Madras has shown that she is immense?

But, we shall betold, we are discussing a course of action that would bring the administration to a standstill. Well, after all, would it be so grave a thing it administration to a standstill. Well, after all, would it be so grave a thing if administrations deprived of initally necessary power abandoned the pretence of functioning? As a matter of fact, however, what we propose is not

that, for if to the many distinctions enjoyed by Mr. Montagu were added that if having forced the Provincial Governments to such exceptional action during a time of war, he would speedily disappear from political life. We have referred to a time of war, and we know that attempts will be made, if they have not already been made, to coas members of Government into remaining at their posts because changes of 'personnel' are undesirable during the war. We grant the undesirability, but there is something far more objectionable, and that is the frustration, by the Secretary of State, with the unexpected convenance of the Government of India, of the Local Governments efforts to check insenate agitation during a time of war.

So much for what, in our opinion, which is the opinion of every non-official European we have consulted in the last fortnight or so and, we believe, the opinion of very many loyal Indians, it behaves the Government of Madras and other Provincial Governments to do if a shadow of dignity is to be recovered by them. We cannot presume to dectate action to them; but it is our duty to acquaint them, and particularly our own Government here, with an opinion held most strongly in European and conservative Indian circles We turn to what is incumbent on non-official Europeans. Arrangements were made some time ago to organise authoritative opinion in England in protest against the action which Mr. Montagu contemplated. Since then, in ways that need not be publicly described, larger machinery has begun to be created by bodies representing

European interests in this Country.

What we wish Europeans in India to do more than anything else at this moment is to realise the nature of this crisis. We are using no exaggerated language where we say that on the present issue no compromise is possible. We have to decide now, onee for all, whether we are to be Governed, by Government or by random public gatherings. It is not a race question. It goes far deeper. Pretence is made that because Mr. Montagu is in the back ground and the Government of India have been dis agents in securing the unconditional release of the interned agitators, all is perfectly constitutional. Inform, of course, it is, but why did Mr. Montagu and the Government of India Act? Because a tiny minority of agitators, almost all belonging to one class of the people and to one profession, have established Government by public meeting, and Mr. Mondague's conception of statesmanship, apparently accepted by the Government of India, is to pander to them, in order to secure "a claim atmosphere". As the result of his action, every Provincial Government in India is reduced to impotence when threatened with agitation of the most illegitimate character. If the Woman who darf by day wrote such things as formed material for the Press Act proceedings against her can safely be set at liberty, in defiance of the opinion of the local Government, then there is no one short of the open Advocate of militant anarchy who deserves to be intermed. Not is there left to the great loyal communities of India any protection against the ambitious of an obligarchy. If our feeling are bitter

todays, they are as nothing to those of important classes of our Indian fellow subjects, and europeans need not for a moment hear that in opposing Mr. Montagu's action or assailing that obligarchy they are being drawn into racid contraversy.

Unofficial Europeans, nevertheless, have certain special interests in this Country. They are, too, the only Europeans her to take part in political contraversy. We make therefore this double appeal to them, to fight by every legitimate method for £ noth the broad administrative principle without which all Government in this Country must be come impossible and for their special interests. . . . . If there is a spark of self respect, a glimmer of public spirit, in the non-official Europeans community of Southern India, that community will act as one man in support of the protest. There can be no half measures. This thing has to be settled. We are confident that, gain the necessary support, it can be settled in a manner preacluding facile repetition of acts which drag authority in the dust. But there must be action, not ~~tab-e~~ talk.

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MR. MONTAGUE IN MADRAS.
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14th November, 1917.

Formidable as Mr. Montagues programme in Madras is, complaints are being made in Home Rule quarters against it as not affording certain Associations as opportunity of making representations to him. So far as these complaints arise out of a wounded sense of self importance, they are not to be allaged by any ministrations or balms we can offer. Those who cherish the illusion that they are the spokesman of the people cannot be soothed by demonstrating to them the fact that they are merely the delegates of a cgique. But if in any degree the complaints are done to fear that, without their help, the Home Rule case will not be adequately argued before Mr. Monstagu, that apprehension may be removed. At Delhi and at Calcutta the Secretary of states has had more than ample accasion to learn all that can be said in favour of Home Rule, and the special benefit of his visit to Madras is that it will enable him to hear more plaingly than elsewhere the non Brahmin case against the establishment, under a democratic disguise, of the narrowest and socially most intolerant obligarchy to which men have ever been asked to bow their necks.

The non Brahmins of Southern India, so far as they as capable of understanding the political situation and unafraid of speaking their minds, have declared against the grant of anything resambling Home Rule. The enlightened men among them view with profound anziety any weakening of that British control which is the essential condition of the upward progress

of their depressed countrymen. They know how great is the task of carrying education to the submerged millions and of remising in the victims of age long appression and contempt any spirit of independence. The work has lovely been begun in the case of some non Brahmind communities, and yet there are Indians who would place in authority the very monopolists of power whose exchesikness has kept the masses down. Can it be a matter for wonder that the non-Brahmin leaders feel this highest and least selfish hopes to be in deadly peril? Least selfish, we have said, for we could, that the non-Brahmin leaders are striving for others rather than for themselves. Their severest critics will not deny that among then are men capable of holding their own with the brahmin politicians and of climbing to whatever places of distriction reward agitation. Had these men cared for facile personal success, it has lain within their grash. To their credit, they have chosen rather to champion the cause of those whose approval is dumb and whose and is of little worth e to climless. They have put their hands to work that has small attraction and the positive results of which will hardly be evident in their own life time. Instead of joining in the scramble for office and in the popular amusement of defaming the administrations for whose office they just, very have determined to resist any change that would cheat the masses of future opportunity. The motives of men are always mixed, ad and we would not suggest that bitterness against the more ill illiveral sections of the Brahmin intelligentria has not

been among the motives, of the non-Brahmin movement. But we do say that, judged by the ordinary standards of politics, the movement is unselfishly and though all sides are entitled to a hearing, special attention may be claimed, for those who are championing the helpless masses rather than crying out for a distribution of spoils in which the masses cannot spare.

Madras has been for some months the real poli political centre of India. It is here that the gospel of Home Rule has been preached most eloqeuntly, most virulent. It is here that its non-brahmin opponents have organised most effectively and carried won most boldly into the Home/Rule Camp. It is here, too, that the new European movement began. In writing of this new European movement, with Mr. Montague in our midst e we wish to be absolutely can did. We have no desire to claim for Europeans the exclusive passession of political wisdom, on an interest in the welfare and security of the country peculiar to them. European intesests worthy of consideration can only be those of India. Where they are merely selfish, they must be subordinated to those of the general population. That there are reactionaries among X non official Europeans in India we would not for a moment deny. But we may claim, in personal as will as journalistic capacities, to have been in very close touch with European opinion throughout these stromy months, to have ascertained in all the freedom of confidential discussion the convictio of recognised European leaders from all parts of the

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country and to have been consulted by Europeans of every class in regard to the great issues with which Mr. Montagus is dealing, with the strictest accuracy, we can assure him that reactionary Europeans are in a hopeless minority, that not a man of real influence in the movement has ever said to us a word against the gradual satisfaction of "India aspiration" so that they be indeed India and capable of satisfaction without injustice to the masses and danger to the Empire. But we have yet to meet or hear of any considerable body of Europeans who believe that sweeping changes in the Government of this Country are practicable now, or is practicable could be effected without shameful breach of trust with the real people of India.

If Europeans appear to allow but little scope for reform now, it is largely because no proposals have been placed before than by the responsible authorities. Strongly as they hold that the Government of India cannot be revodelled at this stage, and solidly as they oppose the fantastic project of placing the Executive there or in the Provincial Government under the control of a Legislature. Elected by an infinitesinal minority, with in the limits laid down in the European Associations memorandum for associating the people with the administration and for fitting them to undertake steadily increasing burdens of responsibility.

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But there is one point at which Europeans demand the removal of their deep and thoroughly justified misgivings. They demand that there shall be made manifest, beyond possibility of dispute, the settled resolve of great Britain in India to move only from conviction of the need of the country and in obedience only to the voice of justice, instead of shivering into reform at the evics of agitation. No wonds of owrns can emphasise too strongly the necessity of reestablishing European confidence, and the confidence of the masses, in the courage of the Government. Until it is reestablished, the cause of reform is prejudicial Men will view with equvminority their guardian surrendering someweapons if they are sure that he is ready to use those he retaind whereas, if they doubt it, they will oppose the surrender of even the feeblest and most blunt. That is one of the capitals truths of the Indian situation. Few Europeans, few Indians except among those whose strategy in agitation required a pretence that the Government are hereby using all the weapons of appression, now have any faith in the courage of the Government. They have read the messages of apprehension which had Hardinge sent to white hall those entitled to be his admission were satisfied with the internal situation was in hand.

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STUDENTS AND POLITICS.

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11th December 1917.

The latest order of the Government of Madras on the subject of the particiipation of students in political agitation reads curiously in the light of the debate, on the 6th instant, in the Bombay Legislative Council, on the same topic In theory, the Madras Government order in no way affects the principle evenciated in the much abused G.O.No. 559, in practice it may virtually renuse it. G.O. No.559 was a Provincial measure, but it carried out a policy un initiated by the Government of India and orders to the same effect were simultaneously issued by most, if not all, the Local "overnments. The principle eventiated in these orders was that college students should only attend political meetings subject to the approval of the heads of their respective colleges, and implicit in the order was also the principle that such permission should not be given in regard to meetings likely to be of a violent nature. A, strong agitation was immediately initiated against these orders, all over India, and concession were made in several instances, in Bombay the restriction was declared to apply only to e undergraduattes and not to extend to post graduate students. In pnesurance of the same conciliatory policy the Madras Government have now issued an orders to the following effect "His Excellency the Governor in Council, whiile maintaining the policy of Government order, has ...e to the conclusion that this can best be ...ed by entrusting its enforcement to heads

of colleges, who will exercise their discretion in the circumstances of their respective. Institution He has accordingly resolved to commit to heads of coll colleges this discretion, believing that these authorities will loyally carryout the wishes of the Government and that in so doing they will receive in full measure the support of parents and guardians of students".

Now, if we compare this with G.O.No.559 we shall see that, as far as the letter is concerned, it does little either to add to or modify the privili principles there is affairmed. In actual practice on the contrary, it is likely to place on the one hand principles of colleges and on the other the Local Government in a delicate and inhidious position The whole weight of decision has been thrown on the heads of colleges, and even with the best of intentions they many hesitate to adopt and carryout a policy likely seriously to i,pair the popularity of their respective institutions. On the otherhand, there are in this Province colleges whose control is in the hands of the obligarches of the Home Rule League and their sympathesers. It is not difficult to prophery what line of action will be taken in these institutions, and in this case, where there is certain to be a flagrant defeance of the principle laid down in the order, what action are the local government to take to put an end to this undesirabl state of affairs? Any attempt to bring pressure to bear upon such institutions eg., by withdra grants etc. will be subject to the fierest c another instance of bureaucratic opposs

And, after all, in response to what has this important modification of policy been made? We are told that the authorities of various colleges have represented to Government that they think G.O. No.559 deprives principals of the discretion rightly belonging to them in such matters. In Bombay, on the contrary, a resolution recommending the revacation of that Governments circular of last June (on the same lives as the first Madras Order) was defeated by the large majority of 32 to fine, and amendments of a less revolutionary character were defeated by hardly smaller majorities. The Honble Mr. Paranjiye, of the Fergusson college, is one of the most respected of Indian educationists, and his political views are certainly not of a reactionary character. In opposing Mr. Mannohandas Ramjis resolution, Mr. Parajyye said that "a students should study politics only from a political point of view in so far as the principles and theory, undertying politics were concerned; and added that "there were meetings which students ought not to attend, meetings into which very different subjects crept from those which had been advertised. The Hon'ble Mr. Coverton, Direction of Public Instruction in Bombay, while agreeing that it should be left to principals of Colleges to decide whether students should attend a particular meeting or not, thought that in practice, it might be very difficult for them to exercise, the discretion and right which is generally thiers, and this infact puts the matter in a nutshall. Unless heads of colleges are assured that Government are whole heartedly behind them, they will not

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unnaturally hesitate to pursue a policy that must be unpopular; and as for those institutions under the control of members of the Home Rule party, the new orders will be a ventiable truimpt for them, A new elements has recently, ~~in~~ however, ausion the authority of the syndicate of the University, which body took strong action in the case of the Palghat college, students, and it is possible that by this means ~~in~~ it may be found possible to bring and keep Madras colleges in line with the avowed policy of the Local Government.

EXTRACT FROM THE "MADRAS
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1st May, 1918.

Mrs. Besant Publishes in New full test of Sir Subramania Iyers notorions President Wilson. In the Course of this letter Subramania Iyer declates that Indians are at presen "slaves", forbidden by our alien rulers to express publicly our desire for the ideals presented in your famous war mesaage", o-f Indian soliders he says:- "The truth is that they are sacrificing this lives to maintain the supremacy of an alien nation which uses that supremacy of an alien nation which uses that supremacy to dominate and rule then against their will". He writes of "oppression and misrule in India". He asserts that "Officials of an alien nation speaking a foreign tongue", (that, by the way, of the Indian National Congress), "force their will upon us, they grant themselves exbrbitant salaries and large allowances including Rs.4,000 a month for years for Sir Subramania Iyer)¼they refuse us education, they impose crushing taxes without our consert; they last thousands of our people into prisons for uttering pat iotic santiments - prisons so fittly that often the inmates die of loathsome diseases we will not stop to challenge the foul falsehoods in these statements. We merely wish to draw attention to th existence of the Defence of India Act, which makes it a criminal act to "spread false reports or likely to cause disaffection and alarm on 'to prejudice his majesty's relations with foreign or to promote feelings of enmity and hatred betwe different classes of His majesty's subjects". Sr Subramania Iyer did a wholly unlawful and disloya thing in inviting the intervention of the head of reign state, a wholly unlawful and disloyal th g false nords prejudicial

...s the intervention of the head of a ...gn state, a wholly unlawful and disloyal ...thing in writing falsehords prejudiced to British relations with America. That he knew he was doing an unlawful this is proved by the admission that he delhiberately evaded the consoship by sending his letter by hand.

The Mail. Dt. 29-7-1919-

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THE NEW LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The new Madras Legislative Council has now been re-constituted. The elections have resulted in the return of ten out of twenty one old members the rest of the seats being captured by fresh aspirants to legislative honours. An outstanding feature of the elections is the success of the Non-brahmin communities due to their recent organisation and steady work. They have ousted five Brahmins from their seats, while one Brahmin has defeated a non-Brahmin. There are now only five Brahmins on the council composed with nine in the previous assembly. Yet another seat occupied for a short period by a Brahmin has been secured again by the Rev. E.M Macphill. If non-Brahmins can achieve so marked a success in the field of political compaigning with only a year's persistent activity, more concerted and strenuous efforts in the fitre should be still more fruitful of results. The Non-Brahmins have indeed taken advantage of the elections to show what organisation and selfhelp can achieve in the field of politics. It should now be clear to them that the Brahmin ascendency of which they complained so much in the past is not wholly insurmountable, and was as many people behind, due to their former indifference to political work and their unquestioning acceptance of Brahmin leading. We would urge them to pursue steadily the path of gradual political progress to which they have now determined to devote their energies. We are both to belive that the non-Brahmin movement has its springs in mere sectarian antipathy to Brahmin domination, and consider that it is the result of a real awakening amoungst the Non-Brahmin communities to their rights and privileges in the body politic. When the existing inequalities are removed and non- Brahmin communities come by their own, much of the bitterness which, unfortunately, characterises the interrelations of the two

communities should markedly diminish.) Another noticeable feature of the elections is the gradual shiftingf of the political centre of gravity from the metropolis to the districts, wherep public men possessing practical and first hand knowledge of the rural population and their economic condition and of the actual working of local self government through local amd municipal institutions, are fas coming to the fare. They will soon refust to take their opinions second hand from metropolitan leaders. We have already had a foretaste of this demelopment in the return of the Hon'bke Mr.V.K.Ramanujachariar in the face of the strong opposition of the Indian press becuase of his support of the City Municipal Act. We also look upon it as a happy sign of the times that retired officals like Rao Sahib T.Bal Rao Naidu, and Rai Bahadur T.N.Sivagunam Pillai, are successfully seeking the suffrages of the electorates as their knowledge and experience will not be lost to the country.

Having said so much about the special features of the present elections we should congratulate H.E. the Governor on having made non official nominations of a very satisfactory character. Practically all interests and communities hade been given due representation in the Council. For the first time, a welcome departure has been made by the choice of a representation of the medical profession in Dr. Mahomed Oosman, a retured medical officer of long experience and professional standing. Rao Sahib T.Namberuman chetty, a a businessman Rao Sahib M.C.T.Muthiah chetty, enlightee member of the Nattukottai community, Mr. Devados belonging to the Indian Protestant Christian Community, Mr. T.Armainathan of the Indian Roman Catholic community, Dewan Bahadur T.Desika chari of Trichinopoly and Rao Bahadur N.Subba Rao of Managalore who have the

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and Rao Bahadur N.Subba Rao of Mangalore who have the experience as Presidents of Taluq and district boards and their experience in local self government. The Uriyas are represented in the Zamindar, the Rajh of Parlakimedi.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 10-11-1919.

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

The recent speech of Mr. C.P.Ramaswamy Iyer and the Presidential address of Mr. Kasturi Rango Iyengar must be taken to mark the definite parting of the ways in Indian politics. And though those two gentlemen's activities are confined to the Madras Presidency, we find in other Presidencies the same tendency of politicians to face the situation that India is now definitely committed to the Party system. We appreciate the efforts which have made made by leading men to find a common platform where on now shall be for party but all for the State i.e. Indian state which is expected to arise like a Phonix from the ashes of the Pre-Montagu regime. But those efforts have failed. Whose fault it is, we shallnot attempt to decide. The Reformms scheme is a rack which has split the consistency of political outlooks other than Indian, and, from them nature of the thing, we should have been very astonished is the Indian Home Rulers could have passed over it without a rent. The HomeRule for India movement has, in fact, proceeded on the familiar lives of Home Rule for Ireland whence it was imported, and where the bifurcation of Home Rulers into Nationalists and Sinn Feiness has not been unfaithfully reflected here in the division of moderates and extremists. We might hrust the analogy a little further, and detect some resemblance between the non-Brahmins and the Ulster Universities. Such divisions are the consequence of political evolution. In Ireland it is the Home Rule Act. - the realisation of years of agitation and intrigue- which has intensified the Party differences which distrаt the country; and Mr. Montague's Reform Bill apparently has been destined to exert the same shattering influence upon the political system of India. We do not, howevr ,wish to pursue these Irish parallel too far. They migh...

which some politicians seem bent on also importing into India for the perpetual modification of Indian politics. Indeed, we have been told that India is in the throes of representing. the Imperial Parliament with an oriental edition of the Irish question, and we are not disposed to minimise the danger. But we have hopes that the peril may be averted by the refusal of the leaders, in whose hands the destiny of India lies, to follow any of those will of the wisps which profes to offer short cuts to what is called complete Home Rule within the Empire.

At the present moment Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Iyer's pronouncement Mr.on the need of a Party "to work the Reform scheme whole heartedly" stands as a challenge to that rival policy which, from every indication of purpose that has been vouchsafed to us, is to be directed towards rearing the Del Con ress scheme on the wreckage of Mr. Montagu's edifice. We use the word wreckage admisedly becuase it congressite oratory- not only in this Presidency, but elsewhere- is not mere sound and fury, there is a Pary already in the field intent on undermining the reform scheme whole heartedly. We cannot, of course, say whether Mr. Ramaswami Iyer's challenge has brought to light all or any of the oracles which have spoken from behind the closed doors of the Nationalistic fonference in the Soundarya Mahal. It is possible that he wassimply anticipating Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar's disclo sures. But Mr.Ramaswami Iyer's allusion to the short sighted bigots" who rather than take Mr. Montagu Bill, are prepared to trust for something better in the promises of irresponsible British labour partisans. who are not (and many never be) in a position to fulfil them seems to have hit the mark. Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar's

to those socio-political questions in which the congress has discovered a belated interest. But Mr. Ramaswamy Iyer has examined the virtue of British socialistic theories on the spot and he has come to the conclusion that, whatever merits they may have in the west, the idea of attempting to implant them at present in India is an idle dream.

And what is to be the f fate of those who have not been invited to the secret condone in the Soundarya Mahal? Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar again draws the nail aside. He is willing to receive back the moderate prodicals. He quotes Mr. Joseph chamberlain in support of the indulgence which the Majority of a Party should display in admitting the weaker brethern of the minority to its company. But it is evident from the context of Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar's speech that the weakbrother in this case is not to be admitted to doubtful disputations over the majority policy. In other words, if any moderate wishes to accompany Mr. Kastru Ranga Iyengar and his friends on the road to Home Rule, he must be content to t travel in a position similar to that which the young lady of Riga (of Limerick fame) occupied in her ride with the Tiger. In our opinion, Mr. Ramadwami Iyer's challenge and Mr. Iyengar's reply mark the parting of the ways. The question of the moment of moderates (we use the word in its widest sensed to consider, is whether some advance cannot bemade towards Mr. Ramaswamy Iyer's proposition of a coalition of all the men who are now walking in different labels and various badges, but who can be brought together for the purpose of achiving that national regeneration which we all have at heart" It is a problem which confronts Englishmen, Brahmins, non-Brahmins and Anglo Indians alike. Its solution, if it is to be solved, will require a resolute x erad[illegible]ion of mental jealousy and mistrust. We notice,

for instance that "Justice", clinging to the theory that every Brahmin moderate is at heart an Extremist, observes that India has yet a long way to go under British guidance before she can have a healthy Party system. This may be true; but, we may remind out contemporary tht India appears, as things are at present, to be withing an easy distance of having a very unhealthy party system- unhealthy for the non- Brahmins, as well as for others. The role of the last ditches may be an heroic one, but in politics the "last ditcher" is generally left stuck in the mind.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 11-11-1919.

THE NATIONALIST IN THE BARROWED CLOTH..

We sympathise with N/ew India's indigation at the manne. in which the Nationalist association has clamly appropriated so much of its progreamme. But what else could it expect? The nationalists are wise in their generation" We as Nationalists", said Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar in his concludin g speech," must see that not only in regard to Legislative council elections but in all elections which return men of representative character, we return people who will be on our side and hold fast to Nationalist principles". It is vote whthh are wanted, and to catch votes the hook must be attractively baited. Hence the 15 resolutions which, as far as we can see, are taken out of the New India window and (we mean no offence) eisplayed with the same eye to captuvation which out contemporary knows how to switch on so well. We think that "New India" has cause to complain of this barefaced act of plagarisim. But let it console itself with the reflection that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, and the imitation is very transparent in this instance. ~~The Nation~~

The Nationalist codlin, and not the moderate short, is now paraded as the fraend of the expressed labouring classes. "Suitable non-Brahmin candidates" are to meet with the fullest sympathy. Speeial provision is to be made to enable the Muslim lien to lie down with the Hindu law or vice versa- for we can discover nothing very low like in the speeches of Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and Mr. Salla Guruswami Chetty. There is an accommodating reference to the Khalifat qestion and the cause of the lady voters in one which the Association has particularly at heart. In a word, the resolutions have benn drawn up with a vtew to allowing the Nationalist candidate to be all things to all men, which,

...du admitted in its recent issue against Mr. C.P. ...swami Iyer, is the proper department for a politician. Perhaps it is also attributable to the spirit of socialism which has invaded the congressite council's. But when, all is said and done, the main plank in this asserted platform- the keystone of the arch which is to bridge the gat diving so many irreconcilable interests- is the flat of the Delhi congress. Our second line Beach contemporary was wrong in assessing that the Delhi resolutions had been strangled in the mystic shades of the Soundarya Mahal. It is true that the President's tribute to Mr. Montagu and his Bill was hardly consistent with an unwaverung allegiance to the Delhi declaration, and that it did not square with the reception committee Chairman's vigorous indictment of the reform Bill which, according to t is gentleman, fortifies the alien and bureaucratic autocracy in the Central Government, fitters small does of adulterated self government in the Provinces, and falsifies the pledge of the British government to give responsible government.% But Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar's concluding discourse removes the discrepancies. "It is possible", he said, "that an attempt will be made to induce the next session of the congress to go back upon the resolutions framed in the last congress at Delhi, and it is therefore incumbent upon us all, not only in this part, but in other parts of the country as well, to take a large number of delegates who hold fast to the resolutions adopted last year to Amritsar." From this it appears that although the congressite wolf has appropriated a portion of the moderates clothing to add to the attractiveness of two person, the disguise is not intended to deceive even the most specialist of the Moderate flack.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 26-11-1919.

NON-BRAHMIN REPRESENTATION.

We think it is a pity thatthe non-Brahmin meeting in Madras yesterday did not give itself a little more time for reflection before committing itself to a repudiation of the Joint Committee's proposals. We understand the strong feelings which the non-Brahmin leaders harbour upon the question of a seperate representation. But what advantage do they expect to get by condemning out of hand any attempt to settle by amicable discussion with Brahmin representatives how many seats shall bereserved for non-Brahmins? They talk of carrying their case to Parliament. But why should Parliament be persuaded to go behind the recommendations of the Joint Committee? For our part, we think that, having regard to the South borough committee's Report and to the evidence furnished by the striking non-Brahmin success at the last elections, the non-Brahmin community has reason to congratulate itself. that its dmands have been so liberally met. We are aware that those elction results are not accepted as a conclusive test. But upon what other tests can an arbitrator or even Parliament itself act? It seems to us that to put forward, as Mr. Parthasarthy Naidu did, a claim to have 45 out of the 60 non Musslaman seats reserved for non-Brahmins and to leave the Brahmins 15 seats, is sheer futility. The fact that the meeting will not trust its claim to the judgement of an arbitrator does not betaken very strong faith in its merits.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 17-12-1919.

POLITICAL IRRESOLUTIONS.

Are Indian Politicians ever going to cut the cackle and come to the possess: We are led to ask this question by reason of the utterly fruitless debate which devided a small fathering of the Madras Mahajana Saba upon the merits of the Reforms Bill. The meeting was held to adjudicate upon three resolutions standing in the name of Rao Bhadur T.Rangabhari. It is only necessary to refer to the first, as that wasthe only one put to the ~~grand~~ ordeal . It was to the effect that though the Reforms Bill did not give that measure of self government to which India is entitled, the sabha recognised it as a substantial step towards self-government. A more boon less and non committal proposition could hardly have been framed. But on attempt was made by Mr. Ramadoss seconded by Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar. to amend it, so that should be converted into a resolutions that the sabha regarded the Bill as unsatisfactory and as not giving effect to the 20th August declaration. The Sabha resolved itse

into a committee upon this proble, and, at the end of

hour, voted on the original motion when there wer reason

contents and 16 contents. We have since hea

right of one of the non contents to vote h due to the fact

and it is now claimed that this and the tainly the

vote have converted the defeat of t orthern India, and

success. We understand that ahmin Dravidian

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congress. But, in as Madras, especially in r

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ne the difficulty whic

could have overruled any decision at which this slender meeting might have arrived we fail to comprehend the practical advantage which was expected to ensure! We put this question to those gentlemen who were amoung the centents:- What is the use of discussing resolutions on the merits or demerits of the Bill? The Bill has got to be accepted for better or worse. Wordly warfare now against the measure is a waste of breadth. Indeed, if we may quote an authority on those matters, such tactics saviour of being but a contemptible device of bankrupt statesmen to stane off the evil day". of having to decide how to carryout a task for which they have been entrusted with it, having no settled idea where they are to begin. Resolution, and not resolutions, is what the Bill requires.

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TheMail- Dt. 23-12-1919.

NON-BRAHMIN REPRESENTATION.

Captain Ormsby Gore, M.P., explains in the "Observer" some of the considerations which weighed with the Joint Committee in arriving at its conclusions. For the most part they are already set out in the Report. But he gives some further light upon the vexed question of non-Brahmin representation and the reasons which induced the committee to make a contribution towards a settlement. "In Madras", he says, "an acute political controversy has arisen during the last two years between a large section of the non-Brahmin Hindus and the rest of the caste Hindu population. The former demanded communal representation similar to that given to the Mahomedans. To grant this demand would, in effect, have been to force communal representation on the Brahmins and thus to have restricted unreasonably the number of Hindus of the highest and best educated caste in the local legislatures. One school of thought in India dismissed the claim of the non-Brahmins altogether on the ground that Brahmins and non-Brahmins were all part of on
indivisible Hindu community and that nox such demand n
was sought outside Madras. It would seem that the eir
why the non-Brahmin controversy looms so large i practical
Madras, while it is non-existent in Bengal is es ed not to
that the Brahmins in Madras are alxmost c ommittee fared
descendants of the Aryan invaders from put to the test
are racially distinct from the non- chiefly share
population. Thexxforxxxcontama es of the I.L.P. with
of rigid caste distinctions i not want xxxxxxxxx so xxx
to inter marraiages is al ertain abstract principles
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that to lauch the r e reception given to the Act by
reasonable effo be a bold man who conjectured
ude towards it really is. We
the delegates at Amritsar have

in the province would be unstatesmanlike, and has accordingly recommended a solution based upon reservation a proportion of the Hindu seats for non-Brahmins." Rai Bahadur K.V. Reddi was perfectly right in the memorandum which he submitted to the committee when he protested that a reservation of seats in plural constituencies whatever else it might be, was certainly not communal representation. It is clear that the committee had no intention of granting communal representation, but it seems that it was perfectly vogue as to how its scheme of reservation can be carried out. Lord Macdonell was not for wrong when he said that the committee had only touched the frings of the franchise question

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The Mail- Dt. 31-12-1919.

THE MODERATE MANIFESTO.

The Presidential Address at Amritsar and calcutta mark the cleavage between the extremist and the moderate parties. The one was a long drawn out growl; the other was a statesmanlike formby on the expediencmy of making the best of things. It would have been possible as Sir P.S.Sivasaamy Iyer deserved, to have put forward a scheme embodying the fullest demands of the congress. But such a scheme would not have had the slightest chance of acceptance by the Imperial Parliament, and the moderate party was sufficiently sagacious to see that id did not know better than Mr. Montagu the limits beyond which it was possible for to go in his Reforms. The moderate delegates have been jeered at as sycophants. But this obsequiousness was in reality nothing more th a proof that the moderates understood better than th extremist rivals that crying for the man is not politics in England. The gentleman who prof care a fig for Mr. Montagu and the join very poorly when their contentions wer of skilled cross examination . The before audience under the auspi whom instructed argument does much as the invocation of of liberty, equality and conduct distinquishes the Congress. He what the extrem question wh

any clear idea, except that the Act is to be a starting point for a frost outburst of agitation. In fact, the impression left by the speeches of extremist leaders and the articles in the extremist press is that the lever which the new Act provides is to be used by the Congress Party as a bludge on to extort immediate concession and not as an instrument for gradully lifting India into a higher sphere of self-government.

Such tactics admit of no compromise and we are very sure that they will not be regarded by Parliament as an aggument for expediting a larger measure of Home Rule. Sir P.S.Sivaswamy Iyer was the mouth piece of all reasonable men when he declared that the practical demonstration of India's fitness for more mere power by actual work will be a far more effective means of attaining the end.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 6-3-1925.

AT ANY PRICE.

So far as we can see the only explanation of the conduct of the majority of the Madras city council in regard to the Swarajists boosting of Mr. Gandhi's visit is to be found in their anxiety to purchase peace at any price. Anxious to avoid the loud voice criticism which opposition to such proposals as the presenting open address and the granting of a holiday to all corporation servants would bring on their heads, the majority meeklya accept the Swarajists proposals. There is, however, a higher duty than the gratification of a personal desire to avoid ~~contex~~ imposed on councillors and we trust that in ~~movement~~ moments of seclusion they will ask themselves whether they were justified in spending public money on addressed and holidays while slums go uncleansed, mothers and babes uncared for, and children uneducated. We congratulate the Swarajists in the council on a successful political monoeuvres, but the pecture of the body of councillors being wagged by the Swarajists tailscarely tends to inspire hopefulness in taxpayers whose only desire is to see their city well administered adnd their money well spent.

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p. 195

The Mail- Dt. 20-3-1925.

NEWSPAPERS AND POLICIES.

If the Government really desire to include in their Administration Report particulars concerning the circulatior and policies of newspapers in Madras the least thing should do is to consult the proprietors or editors of the newspape But so far as we have been able to ascertain nothing in this direction was done before the particulars concerning newspapers were incorporated in the latest issue of the Administration Report, The particulars given therein can, therefore, only be regarded as the views of those who prepared them. We endorse the protest of our contemporary "New India" in this regard and trust that the Government will explain the genisis and purpose of the paragraphs referred to.

It is a pity, however, that in its resentment against the Government's assessment of the politics and circulation of Madras newspapers "New India" should have allowed itself to be led into the equally erroneous course of placing its own assessment on the plicies of its contemporaries, for its conclusiosn are no less questionable than those of the writer. For instance our contemporary claims to be "the only paper in Madras which works unwaveringly for self government for India by constitutional method and for maintaining the British connection as a self governing dominion and implies in a latter paragraph that the Madras Mail is against Swaraj. Both statements are wrong. The Madras Mail supports and helps those who work for dominion self government for India by constitutional methods; it also believes that India's interests will always be best served by the

...tenance of the British connection. We oppose no[w]
who have those objects in view, but unlike our contempora[ries]
we do not believe that self government can be obtained by short cuts, or that India will be benefited by the substitution of an autacracy of the intelligentsia for the present semi-bureaucratic government. We hold that the conditions in India are such as necessarily make progress slow and difficult, and that the prerequisi[te] for constitutional progress is the education of the electorate and the discovery of ample safeguards against the victimisation of minority by majority communities. So long as the electorate is neglected, as it is neglected now, and fears dominate the mind of minority communities so long must constitutional progress be slow.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 11-5-1925.

NON-BRAHMIN ELECTION PROGRAMME.

A strong committee was formed to carry on progaganda and organising work for the ~~evening~~ ensuing elections", a report of the proceedings of the non-Brahmin Party on Sunday. The accouncement is interesting as suggesting that the Party has at last awakened to the fact that it is impossible for full success to be obtained in the elections unless the Party does for a definite platform of civic politics and indulge in vigorous propaganda to make that platform understood by the electors. Given this, Madras seems likely to see a vigorous election contest in November next and a great awakening of public interest in the administration of the city with the result that less time will be wasted in the council chamber over non essentials while councillors will conduct themselves with greater circumspection, conscious that their constitutents keep a watchful eye upon them. At present this seems utopean but it would be the certain of an awakened public interest in the affairs of the city.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 5-2-1926

RETALIATION CONDEMNED.

The agenda for the next meeting of the Madras Legislative Council contains a resolution proposing the boycott of South African Europeans and of South African goods. This is one of those retaliation proposals most heartily ondemned by the members of the South African Indian deputation now in India. The deputation, better acquainted with the conditions in South Africa than any of their misguided champions in India, assure us that retaliation is not calculated to do them any good. Sir B.N. Sarma, speaking at Vizagapatam, make it equally clear that by threatening South Africa, Indians would not gain their point. What then remains- persuation, "but persuation based on active propaganda." What are Indians doing to convince the South Africans and the people of great Britain of the deep feeling in this country on the anti-Asiatic legislation, more important still, what are they doing to remove the fears of South African whites that unless the Indian population be driven from the union, South Africa will not be safe for their posterity ? South Africa has made no secret of their resentment of any attempt to coerce her government. A union Minister, newly arrived in London, voices South African opinion in his denial of the right of the king to veto union legislation. This defiance is not justified by the facts, The Governor-General of South Africa has in the past exercised that right in refusing assent to Bills and doubtless will do so again, but the fact that a Minister, speaking in London, should gibe utterance to such an opinion proves that the union desires there to be no misunderstanding as to its attitude towards my attempt to compel it to accept an Asiatic

policy repugnant to its people. Propaganda, therefore, must begin with the South African people. Once they are persuaded of the unreality of the bogey of an Indian menance to their posterity the task of finding a common ground for a policy of justice and toleration will be easy.

THE MAIL- Dt. 16-3-1926.

A TAMIL PROVINCE.

Sir Sankaran Nair's scheme for a Tamil Province is not likely to command much support amoung progressive politicians. It contains far too many reactionary features to appeal to the true democract, and its Parliamentary system would reproduce in the Provincial elgislature all the faults that are rapidly making our local councils a loughing stock. The combination for instance, of a universal franchise for the Lower House with an electorate based on wealth and Government service for the upper house would produce a monster whose legs would want to run in one direction while its head was for ever turned in another. The proposal that one third of the commons should vacate their seats each year would produce in the Provincial legislature the evils that today menance all civic activity. Sir Sankaran Nair, like the framers of the various municipal and local self government Acts, intends this to be a means of ensuring continuity of policy. He thinks it would also be a safeguard against hasty and illconsidered legislation. But what do we find in the municipalities? Take the case of the Madras City council. This council for ever moves with its eye on the annual elections. There is no stability in its policy, no real deliberation on the proposals brought forward. They are judged by one test only how they influence the coming elections? If they are likely to help the dominant party to win more votes they are accepted, however far reaching their effect, however impossible of practical application they may be. There is no continuity of poligy, reason gives places to expediency, and the real ruler of the city is not the council majority but the election agent. Sir Sankaran

Nair's scheme would make the Provincial legislature equally a victim of the alrms emanating from the party campaign offices, and place them equally under the thumb of the election agent.

Sir Sankaran Nair falls between two stools in his attempt to sit on both. His proposals for the senate are a direct appeal to the wealthy landed classed and to the semior official, those for the House of commons pretend to appeal to the imagination of the masses. In the end, however, he satisfies neither. The masses will be impatient of his delaying machinery and the aristocracy will not be blind to the fact that they possess no real power beyond that of delaying, for utmost a year, legislation distasteful to them. Sir Sankaran Nair also makes no provision for the representation of minorities, same in the case of Muslims. The other university committes aretoo small to be represented by their own nominees. Europeans Christians, and Adi Dravidans are to get such representation as they can in the general constitue and it surely does not require much imagination to see how little this would be in a land where communal feeling despite Sir Sankaran Nair's assurance to the contrary, seems extremely high. Moreover, the framer of the scheme proposes that the Province should have its own army, navy and air force, but presumes that none of those will be really wanted because the Tamil country is not in any danger of invasion. Such childlike confidence in the goodwill of other countries is beautiful, but it is not well founded. South India is peculiarly susceptible to invasion from sea, and we opine that Sir Sankaran Nair would think differently were he convinced that the protection of the British navy would be withdrawn from the Tamil Country in time of

national danger. He suffers like many other Indian politicians, from the desirability of taking for granted that independent India would enjoy the same protection as a dependant India enjoys. It has been granted so long that its cessation is incredible advocates of independence talk glibly of immunity as thought immunity would continue after the removal of the force that guaranteesit.

We have treated Sir Sankaran Nair scheme as a serious effort at constitution making difficult thought it be to credit all the proposals with serious intent. Mr. Career, however, pointed out in its most grave defect. It is not based on any general public demand. There has been no general clamous for a Tamil Province. There is a growing demand for a Tamil University though there is reason to suspect that this demand is as much due to the successful efforts of the Telugu to get. University for themselves, as to a desire among Tamilians for one of their own. There is no demand for a Tamil Province some among certain non-descript cliques who talk of linquistic provinces. The wiser Indian politician, even among the Extremists, sees in linguistic Provinces a menance to Indian unity, a constant handicap to every endeavour to weld India into a great nation. And, too, they see in it the seed of a most dangerous such as today as bringing grave discontent among uriyas of Northern Madras and the Telugu of the same area. His proposal is confessedly part of a larger scheme to recast the Provinces on a linguistic basis.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 13-4-1926.

ANGLO-INDIANS AND POLITICS.

We congratulate the Anglo Indian community on their awakened interest in public affairs and we trust they will soon respond to their political conscience, and declare themselves to be one of the many people of India whoe in terests are inseperably bound up with India and the British Empire. Looking at the political aspect of the position of the Anglo Indian and of the European domiciled in this country we can see no alternative to their political identification with other Indian communities, and we are glad to see that the Anglo Indian Association of South India and colonel Gidney are now in agreement on this point. We sincerely hope the majority of the community will soon readjust their angle of vision and accept this view of their political nationality. From the speeches made and the resolutions passed at the recent Anglo Indian conference we conclude that the community intends to enter the arena of Indian intends to enter the areana of Indian political life. We feel sure they will be welcomed if they are well represented. Politics and public questions, however, take up both time and money. In Madras we can think of only half a dozen public spirited Anglo Indians who renders to serve on the Committees of the various public bodies and of the social and educational institutions which exist for this special benefit. The community needs to discover many more such men and women before they can influence the political and public life of India. Our reason for the paucity of public men among them is the fact that so many, we nearly said too many, of them are in either

Government or Railway service, but the retired and experienced members of the community should supply the men, and the united body the community now shows signs of becoming should put up the money for a political organisation.

The Mail- Dt. 17-7-1926.

WOMEN AS COUNCILLORS.

The Madras Legislative Council is to be congratulated on crowing its liberal policy towards women by passing a resolution enabling women to stand as candidates for election to the council. The unanimity with which the resolution was carried, there was only one objection, does the council credit. This Presidency has led the way in every movement for the recognition of women's claims to equal civic rights. It was the first to give women the franchise, it isnow the first in British India to give woman the right to sit in its legislature. There is not muchlikelihood of any great influx of women into the council. It is enough that the way has been opened for them to sit therein. That the council will benefit by their presence goes without saying, and Mr. Saldanha's that their advent will lead to more talking are likely to prove unfounded. It is not the women in a mixed council that here members will dull and verbose speeches but the Old women of the other six, for more garrulous and, unfortunately, quite irrespressible.

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TheMail -Dt. 19-11-1926.

CONGRESS AND THE MINISTRY.

Numerous rumours are afloat regarding the attitude which the congress (Swarajist)Party intends to adopt in the Matter of accepting office. It is recognised, of course, that the Party is at present bound by the pledges approved at the last meeting of the Indian National congress and cannot be expected to make any early pronouncement contrary to those pledges. Nevertheless there seems to be a general expectation that the congress policy will be changed and that the present rigid hostility to the aceptance of office will be modfied. Much, of course, depends upon the success attending the Responsive coope ationists in other provinces. So far they have met with considerable success. It is clear from this that the people of North India are weary of the creed of indiscriminating opposition and obstruction. We believe that the majority of electors in South India an equally opposed to such a creed. The congress candidate have not been returned to wreck the Reforms. We do not believe that the more reasonable among them would contend that they were. They are expected to adopt a reasonable attitude and to secure for the people those benefits and reliefs which the Reforms make possibile. The mass of the electors in South India does not want the administration of the transfered departments to be crippled, and all progress arrested by the adoption of a policy which would make the appointment of ministers impossible and certification inevitable.

Fortunately the congress Party despite its large numbers, is not in a position to force the Governor to take into his own hands the administration of the transferred departments. Should, therefore, the party decline to accept office it merely compels the governor to approach

the minority parties and sets on foot a considerable amount of scheming for a coalition which the government and the nominated members would be prepared to support. Such a coalition is not impossible, but its character must necessarily be such as to make it almost entirely unadventurous. We should then, it is said, have in Madras a colourless ministry concerned mainly with carrying on the work of the transferred departments and fearful of adopting that definitely progressive policy which the needs of the Province demand. It is rumoured, and the remarksmade at Thursday evening's beach meeting by Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar support the rumour, that the local congress leaders themselves imtend moving in the next session of the congress for a modification of the congress policy regarding the acceptance of office and that if it were possible for the governor the delay the appointment of ministers till after that date the present difficulties would disappear.

It must not be forgetten, however, that the Swarajist will not be in an absolute majority in the council, and before they can undertake a office they must prove to the satisfaction of His Excellency that they are confident of the support of a majoirity in the council. In other words, the congress party, if it wishes to accept office, must form a coalition with one of the other groups in the council. Such a coalition would be practically impossible unless the other supporting group or groups is given representation in the Ministry. It is obvious, therefore, that a one Party ministry is impossible in the next council. This brings us back to the solution we first advocated on Tuesday, namely the formation of a non-communal ministry of qualified individuals wedded to no one party and enjoying the support of the majority in the council. Such a ministry, having no particular axe to grind, might work with a single eye to the welfare of the

of the people and the progressive development of the transferred departments. Its selection would need great care, but once made it would probably prove more successful than any attempted on the basis of party and, too, opposition to it would be definite to justify to the people.

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The Mail- Dt. 6-12-1926.

TWO VOICES.

At the Tamil Nadu conference on Saturday a resolution was passed asking that the congress adopt the attainment of complete independence for India as part of its creed. Independence, as we have seen from the deliberations of the Imperial conference, is capable of many interpretations. Complete independence does not exist in the world today. No nation can act as if other nations did not exist. Every nation must, and does, qualify its actions by consideration for the fe feelings and policies of other nations. Complete independence is, therefore a misnomer. But the mover of the resolution made it clear, in a splenetic out burst against Britian and Britons, that his object is India's complete severance from the British Empire. This is an object which has been before the congress on many occasions, but the congress wiser than many of its individual members, has consistently rejected it. It is not very long since Hazarat Mohain raised the standard of revolt in the congress. He even went so far as to desire congress to set up a paralell government eomplete with plice and other services. Today we hear, it seems, plumped for constitutionalism at the general elections. The warlike month rejects extremism, and leaves it to the peaceful Tamil country and a very unwarlike Tamilian to move a resolution demanding severance. This strange reversal of roles is only understandable whenwe remember that it has lately become the role of South Indian extremists to supply the congress with the second and fury appropriate to extremism as a political creed.

In Cawnpore on Saturday, the European Association held its fourth annual conference and passed a resolution

instructing its council to formulate a definite policy for the future political evelopment of India on the lines of cooperation with those leaders of Indian opinion who are anxious to see India Progress as an integral part of the British Empire, with a stable government suited to the traditions of her people. In Cawnpore the hand of friendsh and the desire for cooperation; in Madras abuse of Britons and the propaganda of hatred. The two voices make a contrast which does the real, charitable, Tamilian a grave injustice. The Tamilians are as anxious for cooperation as the Europeans. They, too, desire India's progress if if the European Association council carries on its investigations in the right spirit it will not lack the cooperation of Tamilians not of any other class of Indians. We welcome the Cawnpore resolution as further evidence of the desire of Europeans in India toxpay play their proper part in the political life of the country. The communal franchise, unfortunately unavoidable in the peculiar conditions of the country, tends to cut them off from the main stream of Indian politics. They must, therefore, discover other means of making contact with that stream, and the cawnpore resolution indicates their determination to find them. If the investigations are catholic in scope and wisely inspired, then the policy formulated should be reasonable, liberal, and just. But the work of formulating it will not be easy, nor the task speedily performed.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 27-12-1926.

WINDOW DRESSING.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar raised the expected banner of continued obstruction in his presidential address at the Gauhati congress. But his opposition to the acceptance of office is explained not in the long paragraphs in which he denounced the Reforms constitution, not in the pages in whibh he dwells on the handicapa under which ministers have to work not in his lengthy description of the powers of governors and of the Governor-General to certify, to disallow or to enforce, but in the admission that in no Province is the Swarajist-Congress Party is an absolute majority. It does not require great perspecuity to read between the lines of this part of the Presidential address the evident regret of the speaker that the Swarajists had not succeeded in securing a majority anywhere. He has publicly avowed his disappointment with the results in this Presidency. Hrad the swarajists here captured seventy seats there is little doubt that the tone of this year's Presidential address would have been completely altered, and the long and elobrrate arguments in favour of continued obstruction, the discussion paragraphs on the limitations of the constitution, would have displaced be equally persuasive arguments in favour of swarajists accepting office in those Provinces where in they can command a majority in the council. The speech is obviously the work of a clever advocate, but its brilliance is obtained at the expense of sincerity. It lacks the power to convince, and the reason is that the speaker is arguing as much against himself as against his political opponents. We question whether Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar really believes the Reforms constitution to be the sham be declare it to be. We believe that his speech contains ample evidence of h[illegible]
It is a fine effort, but it achieves little, and t[illegible]

little and those who go to it for inspiration will go empty away.

Perjaps the most unreal part of the speech is that in which he claims for the central congress committee the right to decide the actions and policy of popularly elected representatives. Such a claim is the very anti thesis of ~~xx~~ democracy and argues a desire for he the domination of an hierarchy over the affairs of India. The proposals to establish village sabhas to administer village affairs, to propagage grievances and to set up a parallel system of government ~~xx~~ throughout the country are evidence of a desire to stir up disaffection which accords il with the plea for peace between the communities. The present Hindu Moslim tension- which produced such tragic fuit on Thursday last, is largely the result of the congress non-cooperation and civil disobedience programmes. There is no such way- as we have seen in South India- to stimulate faction strife than to encourage the parading of grievances. Should the congress act on the President's advice much trouble for India will ensure, and th congress will add one more to its list of disservices. to the country. But e we do not think the congress will adopt such a policy, it is too obviously a price of window-dressing, designed to cover the speaker's disappoint at not being able, to advocate a bold policy of accepting office.

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THE MAIL- 29-10-1927.

SWARAJISTS EXPLAIN.

As the statement of the Swarajists ideals the speeches made by M/s Swami Venkatachalam chetty and S. Satyamurthi iyer at the European Association meeting on Friday were excellent in every way. They stated govently the drawbacks of the present system and outlined the constitutional remedies they think necessary. With the ideals few Europeans will quarrel. How can they, has not their king declared tht Britian's purpose in India is the development of selfgovernment until the dominion status, and has not parliament, by passing the Reforms Act with its provision for periodical revision of the constituion manifested its complete agreement with His Majesty's proclamation. There is, then, no room for agreement about the goal, but on the method by which that goal may be reached there are wide differences of opinion. The Swarajists leaders said that they consider complete Provincial autonomy involving the immediate transfer of all reserved subjects to be desirable. They also declared that the complete control of central finance, and of all other departments of the central government sever temporarily defence, foreign relations and Indian States, should be handed over to popular control. It is something to have so clear an enunciation of desires, it would have been still more valuable to have had an explicit statement of the methods, by which these desires may be satisfied with the general concurrence of the people. Mr. Satyamurthi stated that men in the history of the development of constitutional government has a constitutional reform received the unimersal acceptance of those affected. The obvious reply is that in no previous instance has a constitutional reform

affected so complex a population or sought to reconcile such competing claims.

The transfer of further powers to the present liqited electorates means nothing more than the transfer of authority from a modified bureaucracy to an oligarchy of the intelligentsia. From the latter's point of view such a transfer will be advantageous, but can it be fairly argued that it will beadvantageous to the masses.

The question of franbhis is at the moment the prominent factor in Indian political life. One of its manifestations is the demand made by the Swarajist leaders on Friday that communal electorates should go. the Swarajists require a guarantee against communal electorates. These are held responsible for much of the trouble now arising between Hindus and Muslims . Yet when replying to a question, which asserted that under a system of joint electorates the majority community would choose the representatives of the minority communitie he admitted this possibility and said that the congress was considering a plan whereby the communities could select a panel of candidates from which the general electorate would choose the communal representative. Such a clumsy device would not rid India of communal electorates. Communal electorates would have to exist to enable the selection of a panel of candid tes to be fairly made, and in addition to the alleged evils of the present system, there would be additional evil of the resentment which these communal electorates would fed at not being given free and unfettered opportunity to choose their own representatives, to say nothing of the grievance of candidates compelled to conduct two campaigns. The

The communal electorate is an expedient, a necessary expedient until the national patriotism develops sufficiently to deminate the communal allegience, it is an expedient which imposes certain undesirable restrictions upon the communities concerned, the worst of which is the definite limitation of their representation in elected bodies, but is an expedient for which neither the joint electorat nor Mr. Satyamurthi's scheme of a communal panel and final arbitrament by a joint electorate offers a satisfactory alternative.

By adopting the policy of obstruction, the Swarajist Party effectively prevented India reaping full advantage of the 1919 changes, and left to the very bureaurацy it so persistantly attacks the task of affirming the people's newly acquired rights. If at its Madras session the National congress decide to abandon the fruitless policy hitherto followed, it will find not a few Europeans willing to help in solving those problems which present serious obstacles in thepath of constitutional advance until then, European co-operation is, by the Congress creed, made virtually impossible.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 2-11-1928.

A BAN REMOVED. (Bharathi's songs)

The members of the Madras Legislative Council should feel pleased with their success in the matter of Bharathi's songs. The history of the suppression of these songs in Madras was given by the Law member in the Legislative council on October 8. The Burma Government who were originally responsible for publishing the notic e regarding the confiscation, were apparently of the opinion, that they were seditious. According to an order of the Government of India, which lays down that such notifications when published by one local government should be republished by other local governments the notification was republished in the Fort St. George Gazette. Action on this notice, which authorised any magistrate by warrant to authorise any poice officer not below the rank of sub-inspector to enter upon and search any premises where a copy of the condemned publication could reasonably be suspected to be foound, the police applied to the Chief Presidency Magistrate for a warrant to search the premises of the Hindi Prachar Sabha. The search for and confiscation of the songs led to various protests culminating in the adjournment motion brought by Mr. Satyamurthi in the Legislative Council on October 7. The motion received overwhelming support in the House. It appeared that the songs had been taught in schools with the knowledge of government, and nobody was prepared to deny their high quality as literature. On the face of it, it seemed rather absurd that the Madras government should be

influenced by the example of an non-Tamil speaking Province to condemn Tamil songs which had been current for thaity years in thas Presidency. It is clear that the confiscation was a mere matter of routine so far as this Presidency was concerned. The Government are to be congratulated on accepting the popular wish and withdrawing the confiscation orders.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 5-9-1928.

THE VERDICT OF MADRAS.

The action of the swarajists in walking out of the Legislative Council yesterday evening to attend other, and doubtless move important, engagements should not be allowed to disguise one fact. There is no doubt, that, if the Party had stayed, the motion to elect a committee co co-operate with the Statutory Commission would have been carried by a majority of elected members, had the nominated vote been discounted. The course of the policy throughout made this clear. At no point in the debate except in the closure motions did the majority on any question that was put to the House fall below thiety one, while it rose so high as thirty seven. There was, therefore, a possibility that the majority which accepted Mr. S. Venkatachalam chetty's boycott amendment to the resolution in January would have been exceeded by the majoirty favourable to the cooperation motion. It cannot be denied that the council has shown an overwhelming disposition to co-operate with the commission. The Swarajists will, of course, assert that the constituencies might not favour the new verdict but there are certainly no stronger grounds for incurring the expenses of an election, or the doubtful authority of a referendum, now than there were in January, and the indications are that the country, such part of it as has any clear ideas of the issues involved in the appointment and duties of the commission, is becoming daily more favourable to the commission. The little boys who chant Simon, go back and the riff-raff who throw bricks at respectable citizens would only be taken to be representative of opinion by

persons who would find no more worthy unholders of their views. As the Rajh of Panagal has said, the All Parties conference has cooperated with the commission by preparing its report. Why, then, should Madras hangback? The Council has clearly done right to follow the recent examples of Bengal, Bombay and Bihar. Not only Madras opinion,but all-Indian opinion has discovered the wastefulne of the boycott and the advantages of cooperation. Else Why this constant succession of cooperating councils? "Bureaucratic influence", the Swarajists will sneer. At least they cannot say it of the Madras council.

The tactics adopted to hinder the obvious disposition of the council are interesting. When it was first announced that Sir Norman Marjoribanks would ~~mere~~ move a resolution to coopetate with the commission, hostile opinion concentrat ed on two points, first the "impudence" of placing a motion which had not been accepted by the President upon the provisional agenda paper, second the right of the President to invite the assistance of the House in his deliberation. It was hardly to be expected that these trifling strawa would dam- the stream of public opinion. When the motion was brought up in the council the opposition had recouse to the methods, which had already been foreshadowed by their scholastic Press, of high constitutionalism, questioning the advusability of the motion (reference- standing orders and Legislative council rules) and the position of the mover. The President accepted the motion. Application was made to the courts for a writ of certiorari. This application was ruled by the President to have no effect in restraining ythe prodeedings of the council. It was questioned whether the motion was in order. The President ruled

ruled that it was in order and his ruling was sufficiently convincing. Mr. J.A. Saldhana then moved that consideration of the motion should be deferred until the constituenciés had an opportunity of expressing their opinion on it. This was decisively defeated. And the tamper of the House was shown by the first of a series of the attempt to talk the motion closure motions, designed to defeat out. Mr. P.Siva Rao then moved two amendments to the motion, which were accepted by Sir Norman Marjoribank on behalf of the Government. The discussion showed signs of covering the old ground again and the closure was again applied. Mr. Siva Rao's amendment were accepted.
Mr. Saldana then then tried a new tack, and attempted to persuade the House to endorse the main All Parties resolution on the Nehru committee report. This move was not popular, and fell through from lack of support.
The leader of the opposition then tried to get back on to old ground by way of a motion to pass on to the next item on the agenda. The closure was applied to this motion, after some discussion, and a poll showed it to be lost. In the meanwhile, Sir Norman Marjoribanks had suggested to the President that the sitting should be extended to C.P.M. The swarajists disliked this arrangement, which would deny them another day of obstructio today, and pleaded for the President to exercise his discretion in favour of their duty of obstruction."
The President refused to exercise his discretion to this effect, and the Swarajists departed to fulfill their other engagements. Therefore, when the motion as amended was finally put to the house, it was carried unanimously.
Today, the application of the writ of certiorai has beer withdrawn, but it is announced that a plaint will late be brought, in which th[illegible]ecretary o[illegible] tate will be

as a party.

It has been thought necessary to give these details of the procedure in the Council at some length, in order that the character of the opposition to Sir Norman Marjoribanks motion might be realised. There is no doubt that the Swaraji'sts and others cle verly tried to use the rules of the constitution to defeat the wishes of the majority of the council. They had every right to do so. It needed a singularly deep knowledge of procedure and a firm determination to defeat the tactics that were adopted. The President of the council passed both these qualities. Only by his excellent handling of the debate has the House been given the opportunity to express its true feelings.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 6-10-1928.

PITCHING IT HIGH.

Mr. S.Srinivasa Iyengar has taken his stand on the Madras congress demand for independence. He,therefore, rejects the Nehru Report. It weights nothing with him that Pundit Motilal Nehru was largely responsible for drawing up the Report and that Dr.Ansari has endorsed its recommendations, If he is determined that India should accept independance and nothing else his attitude is obviously correct. Unfortunately for the logical consistency of his attitude, however, he has declared that, while independance is the goal to be worked for, Dominion status may be accepted as a compromise. Yet his heart still cries out for independance, we are to beleive. The "Statesman" has accordinly asked him how, as an honourable man, he reconciles his views with the oath he has taken as a member of the Legislative Assembly to bear true allegiance to His Majesty the King, Exmperor of India. ̣his beirs and successors". To this Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar has replied in effect. Many members of the West and South African Parliaments to this, so why should not I? Perhaps Mr. Srinivasa Iyengaris unaware that the transval Nationalist congress recently decided to drop the demand for independence in any other form than was admitted by the Imperial Conference of 1926. As for Mr.De Velera and his followers in the Irish Free State, the Statesman has declared that when the Fianna Fail Party agreed to take the oath. Mr. De Velera declared that he did so "without reserve" This may be perf[illegible]ly true, but we must agree so far with Mr. Srinivasa I[illegible]r that Mr. De Valera and his party took the oath hav[illegible]eviously declared that they re[illegible]

it as an emply formula. That they do not regard it as an empty formula, however, is proved by their attempt to get up a petition in theFree State against the oath. They have so far been refused permission to present this petition to the Dail. Their position, in fact, is as illogical as Mr.Srinivasa Iyengar's They have accepted the oath only as a means to enter th[illegible] Dail. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar must adduce better reasons for his conduct than this, or he will scarcely merit the Antonian epithet of honourable which the Statesman has given him.

There is one possibility, which it is not proper to overlook, that it is not in his adherence to the oath of allegiance, but in his attitude towards independence that Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar is not sincere. He has [illegible] talked a great deal about the greater including the less," that it is possible to demand Independence and accept dominion status, but that it is not possible to accept dominion status as the minmum basis of negotiations. He has made it clear, however, that his rea[illegible]ection to the demand for Dominion status is that every body is agreed on it, either as an immediate on as an ultimate goal. His aloofness may be explained by his consciousness of hi[illegible] own mental superiority and consequent reluctance to run with the crowd. It seem more likely, however that it is not the aloofness of Mr.Srinivasa Iyengar, but rather the share which he has in the attitude common in this country towards commercial transactions. He petches his demand purposely high, in order that he may be able to hate them a little and still have ro[illegible] or profit. One would have thought tha[illegible] his visit to [illegible] and would have co[illegible] [illegible]im that the British people [illegible] share in this mental [illegible] his bargain must be

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concluded, he would have preferred to make a minimum demand by which he was prepared to abide. Perhaps, however, he has been influenced by the attitude of some of the British newspapers to the Nehru Report. They have behind that the Lucknow attitude was a bargaining attitude. Therefore, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar has thought. If our minimum is taken as a maximum, let me show them what our maximum really is. We do not believe that his determination to raise the stakes will command much support. It certainly has not the support of Mrs. Besand, it appears not to have the support of many local congressmen. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar is in danger of overestimating his personal influence and following.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 18-2-1929.

STUDENTS AND POLITICS.

Should students take an active part in politics? The question is once again being vigorously discussed, and opinions for and against are voiced in every quarter. When Mr. Gandhi started his non-copperation campaigh, students were exhorted to boycott government schools and colleges, and many heeded the advice with deplorable results to themselves, their families, and the community. With the collapse of non-cooperation and the failure of the bulk of the national schools and colleges started during 1921 there was a decline in the political fervance of students and less tendency to exploit their youthful enthusiasm. With the announcement of the Simon commission however, politicians turned their attention once more to the students. The success of the boycott demonstrations depended upon the number of students who could be induced to partake therein. Fervent appeals for volunteers began once more to make their appearance in the extremist Press. Extremist politicians exhorted students to join the boycott, and as usual, many studentswere prevailed on to take part in the black flag tamashas. India's youth, however, have not wholly forgotten 1921, their parents have not been slow to remind them that the exploiters are not in a position compensate them for loss of time and opportunity. With the result that students today are far more chary of the political opportunist than their predecessors were in 1921. The differences of opinions among them are endowed by the contrast between the resolution passed at various youth meetings in this ... address of welcome to

of hostility, black flags and hostile cries. The fact that some students are prepared to welcome the commission is a proof of their advance in independant thinking.

What should be the attitude to students towards current politics. It is best summed up in the words of the vice chancellor of Calcutta University. Namely the avoidance of extremes, a careful study and consideration of political problems and the continuous audysis of the differing methods proposed for their solution. It is, however, both foolish and unwise to assume prematurely the responsibility of the post- preparatory period in the way some would have students do. Dewan Bahadur R.n. Aroygyaswamy Moodaliar addressing the students of that admirable, institution, the ~~remarks~~ Ramakrishna Students Home, urged that as a general rule it is undesirable for students to take an active part in the politics of the Country. Wisely he did not exhort students to have nothing to do with politics. An intelligent understanding of the politics of his native land is essential to any youth who desires to be well-informed- For politics in India ~~is~~ n the whole life of the nation, trade, commerce, religion and social activities. There is no escaping politics or the influence of politics. To ignore politics is to ignore the biggest influence in the country. But there is a middle course, that of studying politics and leaning the political arena for others.

Sir C.P. Ramaswamy, speaking at the Home, said that he was already to admit the necessity and advisability of studen[illegible] if such

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students as do so realise what they are doing and the risks they are taking. This advice is sound, but it postulates a degree of comprehension rarely found in youths who must necessarily devote the greater part of their time to collegiate study, in the young whose enthusiasm too often overthrows their judgement. Sir C.P.Ramaswamy Iyer warned his hearers against taking their opinions secondhand from the Press on the platform . that is wise counsil. The part of the Press is to lead not to dictate, it should and for the most part does, ask for nothing more than a fair hearing. If students follow Sir C.P.Ramaswamy's advice and think things out for themselves they will find the Press helpful, if they swallow opinions because they are printed or voiced from the platform they may find them exceedingly harmful. And if students spend their time in seeking to understand political issues they will have little time for practical participations in politics during their school or college career, but they will be preparing themselves in the best manner possible, for participation when, their student days over, they enlist in the great army of those who faithfully strive to serve their country.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 27-3-1929.

GOVERNOR SPEAKS.

Many have deplored the fact that the new constitution, by removing the Governor from direct participation in the proceedings of the Legislature, has deprived its members of the opportunity of hearing an impartial presentation of the business before the House. That loss, however, has to be weighed against the great advantages which the new constitution affords the Governor of judging the proceedings of an outsider an,d priodically presenting his findings to the house in an opening or purogation speech. It is an inestimable advantage to the Members to have placed before them a survey of what has happened in the Province and in the council as seen by one who, while vitally interested in their doings, has no part therein. Such a survey was presented by H.E. the Governor to the Legislature on Wednesday evening. There is a tendency for members to fail to assess the magnitude of Provincial progress becuase their eyes are fixed on comparatively minor details. The Governor's survey compels even those whoe horizens are most restricted to take wider views. There has been progress in all directions during the past fime years. Madras is at last mistress in her own financial house, and the provincial revenues are entirely at her own disposal. Those who know how lazy and strenuous was the fight to secu[illegible] this measure of provincial authonomy. will admit tha[illegible]re is no small gain. As. H.E.Smith there is still [illegible]oad to be travelled before the Government can [illegible]o be discharging adequately even the elementary functi[illegible] of a modern [illegible], but financial autonomy at le[illegible]s the Province

the power to decide how fast her progress along that road shall be. No external agency now deprives her of one fourth of her revenues or circumscribes ambition by so deadly a burden.

His Excellency returned once more to the subject of the formation of strong political Parties in the Province. The policy of non co-operation adopted by an important political party is largely responsible for the slowness with which the Party system is maturing. H.E. said that he desired to see a rapid development of Party Government in the interests of the people. There must be an alternative before a ministry can be overthrown, and the present system deprives both electors and elected of that alternative.

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THE RIGHT DIRECT

When the late Rajh of Panagal ... results of the last general election in t... with some of his friends he admitted that the ... had made a mistake in concentrating upon the local ... and leaving the Central Legislature to their opponents. That mistake, it would seem, is not to be repeated during the next elections. The local organ of the Non-Brahmin Party, in an article in which it states. "It is certainly a reflection on the statesmanship and foresight of the leaders of the (Non-Brahmin) Movement that they have so far concentrated their attention on Provincial Councils and devoted little thought to the Central Lwgislatures", express a hope "that it will also be possible to find men of courage and understanding, men who will go to the Assembly and fight the battle of the just." We welcome this evidence of an awakening to the importance of the Central Legislatuee in a Party that has hitherto neglected it . Remous is busy with many names of Non-Brahmins who intend to contest elections for seats in the Central Legislatures. In some cases the field of contest is mentioned. This is well. If, as our Simla correspondent has foreshadowed, and our Ootacamund correspondent prophesies, the elections are to take place next January, candidates can afford to lose no time in getting to know the elections. The Congress Party is not bli d to this fact, and the peregrivations of its leade... his Chief lieutenant are e vidence of their belief in th value of getting the first blow in. Aăă

...s, are handicapped by the absence of ... election programme. Itis impossible for ...ndidate to make much headway so long as his platform ... undecided. If,however, our contemparary's article may be taken as an index of the non-Brahmin policy at the next election the issues will again be principally communal. There is, in its writing, no evidence of that vealing of the breach between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins which the proposal to open the ranks of the Party in the Legislative Council to Brahmin members seemed to indicate. Nor is this surprising. While, aswe have pointed out before, communal jealousy is an unsound foundation for a permanent political Party, it may be a powerful faction in an election. And yet we still have hopes that the wiser heads among Non -Brahmins will x realise that their strength lies in their numerical superiority that continually hampering upon the communal theme must inevitably result in the awakening of suspicions of all communitiesmmaking it impossible for any to work harmoniously together.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 16-4-1930

HEADING FOR ANARCHY.

In an article Mrs. Besant voices the apprehensions entertained by all true lovers of India concerning the outcome of the present campaigns which Mr. Gandhi is seeking to intensify throughout the country. He speaks highly of lightly of death, but there are worse things than death, and Mr. Gandhi is busy sowing theseeds of a terrible harvest of such things. It may ve nothing to him that society should be wrecked, the very foundations of the nationa shaken, by the spread of his mad creed of civil disobedience but what of those whose homes are imperilled, they have no claim to consideration? Mrs. Besant, whom none can accuse of anti-Indian bias, denounces the demand that Indians should surrender their conscience into this one man's keeping, and submit, like slaves, to his will, however much it may conflict with their own cdnvictions. We are endeavouring to win Swaraj", She says, "but how is the first Swaraj Government to continue to exist if Mr. Gandh's policy of promoting anarchy by the casual breaking of laws is to be followed?"

It is not likely that those who are enjoying the unwanted publicity this civil disobedience movement is bringing will heed to the voice of this veteran [illegible] for the cause of Indai's progress or that [illegible] weakly surrendered this will to the dectator [illegible] will be prepared to follow her along the unpo[illegible] of reason and commonsense yet her warning wi[illegible] when, the enthusiasm evoporated, men come [illegible] cost of the nation wide adoption of Mr. G[illegible] This lawlessness is invading our homes, [illegible] our children no longer obey us our [illegible]

at nought, and where harmony reigned there is now wilfulness and discord." This is the price whichIndia is paying in the home for the general tolerance of a subversive programme. But it is only a part of the price she will have to pay before this lawlessness is suppressed. The news from Calcutta is full of menance. The evil communal attacks have recommenced, and individuals are being stored not becuase of their political views, but he cause they happen to belong to a certain community. It is not far from this to the stab and run murder, to anarchy which is no respecter of persons,, and has no regard for the rights of the individual, his person or his property.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 23-4-1930.

A CALL TO NATION.

The events of Tuesday (xx 22nd April) evening in Madras give the lawlesspolicy of the Congress Party to make a public pronouncement of their views. Mr. T. Prakasam speaking on Tuesday evening, while condemning the activities of the police in dispersing the crowd and preserving order had nothing to say in condemnation of those who threw stones and injured public officers engaged in the performance of their duty. Throughout India the leaders of the congress revolutionary groups once seeking to coneal or to minimise the violence of their followers and to misrepresent the activities of the authorities and their agents entrusted with the preservation of law and order. At such a juncture, if anarchy is not to prevail in India, those who value order and good government must speak their minds.

"In trying to be loyal to the personality of the Mahatma a very large body of people is forgetting the necessityof preserving its own self respect." This remark is well founded. The fear of being thought disrespectful to one who is regarded as a national hero silences many who disapprove of Mr. Gandhi'spresent policy. But as one correspondent points out, "if fear of the opinion of others is a factor which prevents the moderate minded from expressing an opinion on the present campaign of lawless ness, self-government in India is going a most sickly concoction." "It will not be it will be a dictatorship, with the most

most unscrupulous, the most violent in the role of dictator. Doesmoderate minded India seriously desire this? We believe not. The great majority of India's thoughtful men and women desire peace and security above all else. They desire,too, that the Government should be both responsible and responsive. Either equality is foreign to a dictatorship such as the congress Party, under the guidance,of Mr.Gandhi, is seeking to establish. It, therefore, behaoves all who desire true liberty to range themselves on the side of those who seek for India a system of government that is truly representative and responsive. Mr. Gandhi deems all means just if they further his purpose, and now looks with an indulgent eye on violence. In his latest phase he has become the enemy of good government in India. Mrs. Besant, with more courage than most who hold her view, has siad so in no mexed terms. Time has come for others to follow her example.

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THE MAILS- Dt. 8-1-1931.

THE END OF THE TRAIL. (S.Satyamurthi)

By declining to take serious notice of Mr. Satyamurthi's offence the Second Presidency Magistrate proved that justice, despite what agencies may say to the contrary, is not always denounced from commonsense. As the Magistrate stated Mr. Satyamurthi had taken special precuations to avoid, as far as possible, an open breach of the law. His advice to the crowd at the time of arrest prevented any violent manifestation, and made it unnecessary for the police to use force. It is significant, too, that when produced before the Magistrate after his arrest Mr. Satyamurthi readily yielded to the former's suggestion to execute abond for appearance before the Magistrate on Thusday, thus revealing a much more reasonable frame of mind than that of many of his tontemporary who, in like circumstances, have adopted an obdurate attitude. The Magistrate's decision to place a charitable construction on Mr. Satyamurthis attitude will be widely applauded. It is enough that the law is vindicated. We do not pretend to anticipate the effect of this leniency on Mr. Satyamurthi, much depends upon the character of the forces influencing him, on his ameability to the pressure of those whose warfed minds associate patriotism with imprisonment. If wisdom guide his conduct, and he sincerely desire to serve his country, he will refuse to sacrifice himself for a slogan that has last its [illegible]t.

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9-1-1931.

BAITING THE POLICE.

Advocates of complxele provincial autonomy cannot but regard with grave apprehension the result of a debate in the Madras Legislative Council on Wednesday on the motion to reduce the supplementary allotment for the police Department to express disapproval, amoung other things, of certain activitis of the Force. The greater part of the sum asked for, Rs.6,06,565, was required to meet the cost of measures taken to combat the civil disobedience movement, and the cut motion must therefore he interupreted as a critisim , on denunciation, of those measures. Yet though one member of the council affirmed, without challenge that every member of the House disapproved, undoubtedly, the civil disobedience movement," the motion was passed by a large majority. The mover had taken care to rope in the widest measure of support by lumping together such unrelated subjects as actions taken to dispense pickets and crowds, failure to detect menders, and to prevent house breaking and theft. He anticipated, doubtless, that if some did not agree with him that the police had used undue force against unlawful assemblies they would at least agree with him that the police failed to preve house breaking and theft, to discover murders, or to in one spot. . Nevertheless, tempting thought pre by the mover of the resolution was, we are surpri there should have been found 56 members of the L to support. The peace and security of the pec this Province depend mainly upon the loyalty Hithertothe members of that Force have been obligations. They have faced the tenors and prejudiced men, and the stores throw unflinchingly. They have been stren

thrown by demonstrators unflinchi[...] have been strengthened in their adherence to [...]he knowledge that the government are behind them, a[...]t behindthe Government is the support of the great mass of the people. And now they find thatthe Legislature, that body to which, if the proposals of the R.T.C. reach the statute Book, they must in future look for that support and protection now afforded by the government, the Legislature has passed a vote of censure upon them, and has denounced them to the world as brutal beaters of the defenceless undeserving of the sympathy of intelligent men. What will be the e effect of such an example of legislative irresponsibility on the members of the Force? Within a year or so they may be placed under the authority of those who now censure them, can they be expected to remain indifferent to that fact? Will they be insensible to the fact that these politicians are to govern their fate? And can they be expected to remain true to their traditions, indifferent to politicans, serving the community and not this Party or that, this politician or that the Legislature by its action has cha lenged the fundementals of the loylaty of the Police, has introduced a new and destrictive element into the administration of this Province, and made the task of preserving peace and orer infinitely difficult. Its action cannot be overlooked by those who will have the framing of t e future constitution, who must, in the common interest, provide that the police shall be protected from such attacks as these from those influences which made the attack successful.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 10-4-1931

THE DEPRESSED AND T

When Mr. V.I. Muniswamy Pillay told
Adi Dravida conference at Cuddalore that in
reconstitution of the Federal structure commit
provision would be made for the representatio
Depressed classes he suggested, unwillingly pe
these classes would thus be deprived of represen
which they formerly enjoyed on that body. The fa
that there was no representation of the depressed c
on the committee, their representatives were busy on
committees, the minorities committee and the Franchise
committee for example, where they did very useful work.
Had there been more representatives of the depressed classe
at the conference it is possible that one of their member
would have been included in the Federal structure committee,
and it is possibly to this fact that we owe the
conferences demand for larger representation of the
depressed at future meetings of the R.T.C.

It is doubtful whether any of the delegates to the R.T.C. at first realised how supremely important the proceedings of the Federal structure committee were to become. Had they done so it is more than probable that the personnel of the committee would have been very different from what it was. Certainly important minority interests would have been more weightily re[...]es the depressed classes amoung them, and the latter fully justified in asking that they be rep future meetings of the committee. Recen made it clear that despite the professio to t e c trary the position of the de among t nd the l are fu

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presented at the future meetings of the

Recent events have made it clear that

... the professions of politicans to the contrary the ...sition of the Depressed classes is still one of great difficulty. Their title to the full enjoyment of social and political rights and privileges is by no means generally recognised, and the persistence of the necessi... for separate institutions like schools for the depressed because of the intolerance of the castes emphasises the ne... for extreme care in safeguarding their enjoyment of all political rights and privileges which the future reforms may give to the people of India generally. The depresse... classes have not been any too well served by theirx representatives in the past their delegates to the R.T.C. were almost persuaded to give their unqualified support to the device of joint electorates, and the cuddalore conference did well to emphasise the importance of future delegates being able, well informed, and trusted leaders, enjoying the confidence of the .D.C. and fully alive to problems with which, in a selfgoverning India, in which the .D.C. will be a minority, they will be confront... so that their position may be abundantly safeguarded.

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MAIL- Dt. 11-5-1931.

"NO CONFIDENCE" IN GANDHI.

The fourth session of the Tinnevelly District Self Respect Conference passed the following resolution:- "This conference expressed its want of confidence in the leadership of Mr. Gandhi owing to (1) his approval and adoption of superstitions and customs preached in the nam of religion (2) his undermining of the sense of self confidence and self reliance in the people by his deliberate invocation of god in all his acts and utteranc (3) his attempts to receive the unjust and primitive institutions of varnashrama, Ramarajya, and the law of Manu (4) his opposition to the spread of the use of machinery in all trades and (5) his want of understanding of and sympathy with the principles of socialism."

Mr. Nariman addressing a gathering at Ernakulam urged the Indian states to organise an All India States congress on the same lines as the Indian National congress and he recommended the starting of Civil Disobedience in Indian States for the removal of grievances. He advised the people to be prepared for another struggle.".

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THE MAIL- Dt. 22-5-1931.

THE WRONGS OF THE DEPRESSED.

Once again attention is called by a leader of the Depressed classes, Mr. M.C. Rajah, to the disabilities under which the members of those classes now labour. It is incredible that any community should seek to impose upon another the sumptuary laws which, according to Mr. Rajah, certain caste communities seek to impose upon their "Depressed" neighbours. The list reveals a deliberate attempt by certain individuals to keep others in a perpetual state of moral subjection. The Depressed classes rightly resent such attempts, but hitherto they have shown little force in their resentment. That possibility cannot last for ever. Mr. Rajah utters a grave warning. "I would appeal to the government and the local atuthorities to watch these movements and take timely action. If allowed to go on such movements will develop into communal conflicts, which result in breaches of the peace and in bloodshed. Ramnad, where Mr. Rajah was speaking has already heard the echoes of such conflicts With the spread of education among the depressed classes, and the resultant increase of self respect among their members, the danger of conflict will grow unless the wiser leads among the castes interfere to produce a better spirit among their fellows. The responsibility for the present tendency of the Adi Dravidas to leave their fellow countrymen and find support and assistance non-Hindus rests entirely upon caste Hindus. Mr changed attitude concerning the urgency of the a of untouchability and its attendant evils has to estrange the depressed classes, but failure of the Hindu Mahasaba to

of caste oppression has been the deciding factor. The depressed classes feel that they are facing a crisis, that unless they can secure adequate statutory guaranteed for their full enjoyment of the rights and privileges ~~to~~of full citizenship now they will for ever he doomed to accupy a degraded position. If such things can happen on the eve of Swaraj and Dominion Status, what will not happen when those political dreams are realised," said Mr. Rajah, concluding a recital of communal disadvantages. They demand seperate electorate becuase they distrusts this fellow Hindus and for the same reason they propose to ally themselves with other minorities. Is there any feature of the present political situation more significant of the short sightedness of the majority community's leaders?

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THE MAIL- Dt. 8-6-1931.

TAMIL CONGRESS AND THE MINORITIES.

It is a pity the Tamil Nadu conference did not amplify its resolution concerning minorities. It is something, however, that the conference accepted "The principle of generous concession regard to minorities". But had the conference gone a step further and declared gone a step further and declared that it would allow the minorities to be the judges of this genorisity its resolve would have been infinitely move satisfying to all minorities. Yet we are entitled to conclude that the conference really meant the minorities to be the judges of Congress generosity since the giver can be no judge of the true value of the gift. We must assume, therefore, that the congress Party in the Tamil Nadu is prepared to give to the minorities what they ask, that it will concede seperate electorates to those minorities which demand them, and safeguards to others according to the measure of their anxieties.. If this be a true reading of the Tamil Nadu Conference resolution, and surely no other is possible than the Tamil Nadu conference has only to persuade the congress party elsewhere to adopt its stand-

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~~pointxandxallxwillxunfortunatleyxxthexTamilxNaduxConference~~

~~seemsxtoxhavexlittlexauthorityxoutsidexthexTamilxNadu,~~

point and all will unfortunately, the Tamil Nadu conference seems to have little authority outside the Tamil Nadu,

and the squabble about electorates and safeguards will we fear, continue so long as Gujarat and Bengal dominat the councils of the Party.

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THE MA

NO COMOUFLAGE HERE.

Mr. Satyamurthi does not believe in comouglaging the obvious as do so many of other Congress Party leaders. The Hindus are in a majority throughout the country, why then disguise the fact? They are also certain to have a majority of voters under any system of frachise that may be devised, again, why disguise the fact? "After Al," says Mr. Satyamurthy. If every minority is to be given special and peculiar privileges the majority would have to mix commit political suicide before the minorities who satisfied.". And it would be foolish to expect any majority to do that. But while the minorities should avoid the folly of asking the majority to commit political suicide, they may surely refuse to commit political suicide for the benefit of the majority. The acceptance of joint electorates, dominated, as Mr. Satyamurthi shows, by a vast Hindu majority would be equivalent to such a sacrifice, since no minority could hope to return a communal representative whose views were at variance with those of the Hindu majority. Satyamurthy asks too much of human nature when in one out the same breath he announces the intention of the majority to exploit their numerical advantage to the full and endeavours to pursuade minorities that submission to such a majority is to their advantage. He may delude the illeterate with his pict re of a promised land of Swaraj flowing with milk and honey, but he will

...ajority of intelligent men.

...rankness, but frankness, consorts ill with deception. Mr. Satyamurthy's speech is amixture of threat and promise, which leaves a nasty taste like that of a pill from which some of the suguar coating has broken off.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 23-7-1931.

THE MINORITIES COMMITTEE.

Speaking at the Madras City meeting on Tuesday Moulana Shaukat Ali declared that his community desired a seperate electorates and nothing less. At a meeting on the Triplicane beach he repeated this claim for seper ate electorates. But at the city hall he made a further not less significant remark, "We cannot afford to squabble at the R.T.C. Let us come to a settlement, and ten years hence India will be free." Ten years is also the period for which he claims separate electorates for his community. They will be, in his opinion, ten formal years, and should be used to build up intercommunal confidence and the unity of the nation. It is not too much to ask that during these mormative years the Muslims of India should be left free to resolve their own difference and consolidate their position as citizens of a greater India. ~~Theyxhave mustx~~ Educationally backward and economically depressed they cannot hope to complete on equal terms with communities more advanced and more righly endowed with their world's goods. Seperate electorates will enable them to concentrate upon the task of improving the general position of the community. This cannot be achieved in ten years but a begining can be made, sufficient to allay the fears of the community regarding its future, those fears which are the basis of so many of the community's a apprehensions of future subjugation by the Hindu majority. Moulana shaukat Ali wants time for the Muslims to put their house in order, undistracted from the necessity of fighting for accurate communal representation in the Legislatures. He thinks the task will take ten years, is it wise to quarrel with him about so short a

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a period? Communal squabble caused the work of the first pelenary session of the R.T.C. to end inconclusively It would be disastrous if the second were to be equally indecisive and for the same reason. The majority community has a great responsibility in this matter. It can, by wise concesssion, ensure the success of the conference and speed up the coming of constitutional reforms.

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THE MAIL- Dt.1-8-1931.

PICKETING ABKARI SALES.

Mr. Rajagoxpalachari's view:-

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, President of the Tamil Nadu Congress committee, has issued the following statement to the Press.

The Madras Excise commissions interpretation of the Delhi Pact is not one that we can accept. Mr. Gandhi has expressed his own clear opinion that we are entitled, under the truce, to picket the Abkari Sales.

The sale of liquor licenses to the highest bidder is one of the worst phases of the prevailing system, and contributes greatly to the increase of the consumption of intoxicating liquores. The right peacefully to warn people against getting involved in this double evil of a speculation and a traffic harmful in itself is an inherent common law right. The Delhi pact did not intend to take away theexisting rights and cannot be interpreted as curtailing liberties, but only as extending them. The executive hitherto has never claimed that it would be illegal for the people. to advise or warn speculative bidders against a traffic that will hurt them as well as the public. There is no question of force, intimidation or annoyance, which is ruled o[...] on both sides, out, as long as the truce lests, w[...] not disobey magisterial orders on court puni[...] But we cannot accept the excise commissioner[...] interpretation of the terms of the Truce.

If the Government instructs or allows the Magistrates to issue magisterial orders of prohibition, it will be a clear breach of the settlement. To obstain from doing this generally, but to take cover behind allegation of particular local conditions would be technically permissible , but nevertheless an endirect breach of the Truce, unless the allegations one based on real substance and not on executive in structions.

I have therefore give instructions for the issue of advice to all congress organisations to exercise the right of warning bidders at the coming auctions, taking every precation to keep their activities within the limits prescribed by the terms of the Truce, as well as by our creed.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 3.10-1931.

"NO" TO THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

If report speaks truly and there is no apparent reason to disbelieve it M. Gandhi has once again sadly disappointed the Depressed classes. They asked for special representation in the Legislatures Mr. Gandhi replies that he will support special representation only for the Muslims and Sikkshs. Pundit Malaviya endorses Mr. Gandh's views, and is reported to have said that it would be a privilege for Indians to do all that was possible for the Depressed classes. This vague statement cannot possibly satisfy the depressed classes. "All that is possible is capable of various constructions. During recent months local ~~boardsxand~~ boards and municipalities in South India have been allotting seats to various special interests. Among those interests were the depressed classes, who have found that in alloting seats these local boards and municipalities have interpreted "All that is possible" to mean the manimum number of seats for their community. There has been a complete absence of generosity in the treatment of their demands, ~~andxinxnoxareaxcanxitxbexsaidxthatxthexrepresentationxafforded isxnearlyxrepresentativexofxthexnumberxofxmembersxofxthe~~ and in no area can it be said that the representation afforded is nearly representative of the number of members of the depressed classes therein. This experience has ~~experience~~ naturally made the Depressed classes delegates at the R.T.C. more insistent in their demand for special representation and unless the congress leaders low greater

willingess to afford them more concrete protection than is afforded in their vague allusions to "all that is possible" there will be no settlement of the minorities problem.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 30-10-1931.

TO THE POINT.

"Fime words better no parsnips" seems a homely phrase which expresses the importance of rankness and truth in the affairs of men. In his speech to the Madras Legislative Council this morning, H.E. the Governor wasted no time in fine words. The state of the coutry demands frankness, and the gravity of the problems with which legislators and the government are alike confronted precludes anything transvering however remotely of levity.

In some respects the most significant phrases in H.E's speech were those relating to provincial government. They show that in his view Provincial autonomy is much nearer than many are inclined to believe. He hopes that before long he will have the privilege of opening a council which will be the first in this Presidency under self government. He believes that self-government will be granted to the Provinces before long. We trust that his hope willnot be disappointed nor his belief prove unfounded. For we believe that the greater part of the irresponsibility which now manifests itself in the Legislature will disappear when Legislations have either to support the government in office or to be prepared to take over the burden of government themselves. Responsibility is a solutary remedy for irrespo
It can comfort the wildest agitator into the
of statesmen. Do we not see the effect o
in the caution with which the congress wo
has passed on the burden of a decision
rent campaign in the united Provinces to
Committee? As an experienced parliamenta

jealous parliamentary traditions, H.E. is anxious that Madras shall begin its career the most favourable auspic that its legislators shall so conduct themselves in the council in the present that more shall feel anxious lest they misuse fro any reason, the wider opportunities autonomy will bring. That is a landable desire one which every legislator can share, it sets an ideal of conduct to which all should willingly subscribe, even though in subscribing them condemn themselves to much drudgery over blue books,much study of dry economic facts.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 10-12-1931.

FAIR SURVEY.

Sir P.S. Sivaswamy Iyer is one of the elder school of Indian politicians which does not subscribe to the ptobitical heroes current amoung the younger and less experienced members of t at calling. The elder statesman are not less anxious for their country's progress, they realise, kmtw however that the progress of a nation is not a series of wild leaps, but the slow, certain advance from one proved experiment to another. Out elder statemen are sure of the goal to which they aspire, for more sure than the youngmen in a hurry who hustle than off platforms, refuse them a hearing and claims the sold right to interpret the people. The goal to which those elder statesmen aspire is the attainment of complete self-government.

Sir P.S. S. Iyer refuses to subscribe to the view that the R.T.C. was fortune. The progressmode at the conference towards the building of a new eenstituon constitution was extremely slow, but, I am not disposed to think that there has been no progress at all". Lord discussions in the House of Dords show that in the opinion of the many in Great Britian too much was achieved, too much progress made. Future historians will give credit to the conference for having achieved much preparatory work in the face of great handicap- solution of the minorities problem been reached spectacular results for which our younger poli yearn would doubtless have been forthcomin yet be secured if the leaders of communitie together in a spirit of true compromise a

a solution satisfactory.

Sir P.S.S. Iyer finds Mr. Gandhi's refusal the Premier's offer to arbitrate in the communal dispute unintelligible, a finding in which he is by no means alone He considers that it would be most premature and ill advis to refuse to cooperate in the various inquiries to be instituted since such refusals would place in India in the wrong in the eyes of the world. Mr. Gandji, who besides being a very astute politican," is also a very astute publicist, is not unappreciative of the value of world support. He is not insensible of the walue of his Party of the publicity which his meeting with Mussolini will bring him. The situation is encouraing, says Sir Iyer, "We have moved a few inches further",. Those few inches are of vital importance when the agreement on different communities in India is m reached, the work of the R.T.C. will provide the foundation for furtherlabours. But it would be the height of folly to boycott those committees whose task willbe to continue the preparatory work of the R.T.C. and further pave the way the for the speedy advance which that agreement will make possible. Those who talk of boycott one, therefore, guilty of advocating acourse which must further delay India's progress and make the task of reform considerably more difficult.

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EXTRACT FROM THE "MADRAS MAIL".

4th February 1932.

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PICKETING AND BOYCOTT.

Madras Chamber of Commerces Ruins.

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The Madras Chamber of commerce at its monthly meeting held resolved to record its appreciatio of His Excellency the Governor's consideration in calling a meeting of representatives of Commercial associations in Madras on January with a view to discussing the situation arising out of the present ac activities in restraint of trade organised by Congress.

While Deploring the fact the Congress should have chosen to rembark on a campaign of obstruction instead of cooperation at this critical stage in the constitutional development of India, the chamber is of opinion that there can be no satisfactory solution of the present political and economic difficulties in India and no real recovery of the Country's trade so long as the methods of boycott and picketting continue.

"The Chamber in reviewing the situation, is not unmindful of the disastrous effects upon the General trade of India that might ansure it, in consequence of a continuation of the policy of boy-cott and picketing other countries should be driven to relatiate by introducing prohibitory measures against trade in Indian produce exported overseas, a possibility the consequences of which the instigation the present campaign have perhaps not fully considered.

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"The Chamber therefore welcomes His Excellency's assurances that it is the intention of the Government to utilise all powers vested in them to terminate this subversion campaign and to take all persons shall enjoy complete freedom, and protection to pursuade their legitimate trade w without molestation, and desires to assure the Government of the Chamber's support to this policy".

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16th February 193

A Constitution
good sense. This is t e des
It is also the desire of all sob
Unfortunately, there are influences
prevent the majority from voicing, their
soplainly as did rajah Sir Annamalai Chetty,
on behalf of his community. The value of peace
and settled conditions, the two factors indispensab
to the prosperity of any country, is fully recognised by Chetties. And they have studiously refused to lend countenance to any thing sanouring of lawlessness or designed to distruth the peace. Like other communities they have suffered heavy losses because of the prevailing economic depression, but unlike other they do not blame the Government for effects entirely beyond the control of any single Government. On the contranythey they are prepared to cooperate with the authorities in every effort to shorter the duration of the depression and faster the interests of the people. Sri Annamalai chetty said that the decision to revive civil disobedience care as a painful surprise to all those who insnatized India as an honoured member of the Empire, and who had deliberately chosen the path of orders progress and constitutional methods. The path is not an easy one to tread in those days. Those who pursue it must bear calumny, gross misrepresentation, and social obstracism. They mist be prepared to see this own family divided against them, their household ranged

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...hemfools on traitors.

...ease will meet these things

...rt, and a courage that knows so far.

...re inspired by truth and fortified by

principles.

The principles they standgor one the enternal principles of truth and justice. They ask for fairplay for all men, they are as jealous of the liberty of the individual as their opponents pretend to be of the liberty of the nation, We say "pretend to be" deliberately, because the liberty of the nation cannot be secured on the basis of intimation, it can not be reached by means of boycott on achieved by mass bullying of the individual. Civil disobedience is essentially a movement of force. Its purpose is to course the Government by harming the individend, the peaceful citizen Eschewing brute force, or more accurately professing to eschew brute force, those who adopt civil Disobedience employ the more refined and more terrible cruelty of mental torture. Before the very threat of it men of spirit have qualified. The absence of any definite conservation or moderate movement in India is not treaceble to the absence of a great body of conservative, of constitutional, opinion. It is due principally to the fear of the consequences of publicly combating the popular political programmes, fear of being grossly this understood, or, more likely, grossly mis this represented. The Chetties are not afraid to let it he known that they have

"deliberately chosen the path of ordered progress and constitutional of methods". As men of experience, well versed in human nature, acquainted with its limitations and the magnitude of the temptations to adopt the popular political slogan of the hour, they trun this backs on subversive programmes, and hold fast to well tried methods.

To them His Excellency the Governors assurance to support in their constitutional activities must have been extremely conforting. The Government do not intend to allow the apostles of disaster to prevail in this Presidency. The challenge thrown down by the advocates of Civil Disobedience has been accepted. The Government intend to prevent them from leading this Province to disaster. Their assurance is comforting to all men of good sense. But alone it would not be suff cient. It needs to be reunforced by a further promise that the Government will pursue the work of hammering out on constitutional acceptance to all men of good sense as ingorously and as unremitting as they propose to combat civil disobedience, and terorism in whatever form it manifest itself. The question everywhere asked is "what is the next more?. There can be no marking time, no setting down to a long struggle with the forces of the Congress, Concentrating all efforts thereon. Constructive constitutional work must proceed, the Government must demonstrate their good faith by continuing in constitutional goof works.

And above all members of the Government should refrain from anything calculated to delay the restoration of confidence in the pledged word of the British people, on likely to make more difficult the path of those man of good sense who have decided to pussue constitutional methods. The R.T.C. commitees one going their rounds, upon the liberality of their outlook, the justice and wisdom, of their recommendations may depend the issue of the present struggle. There is a great responsibility

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GOVERNMENTS ATTITUD
"BUY INDIAN LEAGU
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Determind to Break "The Spir

The following communique has b
by the Government of Madras. Public(G) Depa

In the second half of March the situatio
in most parts of the Presidency remained quite
except for sporadic picketing, but in Malabar and
kistna there was some revival of civil disobedience
activity in the latter district the conduct of one
village has been such that the Government have
bound it necessary to quarter a special force of
policy in the area at the cost of the inhabitants.

The number of persons convicted on bound
over in the fortnight was 120, making a total of 1581,
since the begining of the movement. The number of
apologies received in 68.

In the Legislative Council a debate took
place on the measures taken by the Government to
combat civil disobedience with special reference to
the conduct of the police. In the course of the
debate non official speakers condemned the lawless
activities of the civil disobedience party and
exposed the falsity of the pretence that picketing
is peaceful.

The motion to reduce the ... polic
were defeated by 60 notes to 30 wi ... ears majority
of elected members, thus showi ... the council ha
estimated at its real worth t... aign of misrepre
sentation carried on against ... Government.

ANGE OF POLICY:-- The organisers
...l disobedience campaign have counted on
...g the Government to charge their police and
...andon the lines of action which has proved most
effective in combating civil. disobedience. The
Government wish to make ~~the~~ it plain that their
policy remains unchanged and that they will continue
to employ all the legal weapons at their command
to break the spirit of lawlessness which it allowed
to take hold of the country must prove disastrons
to all constitutional progress.

Lastly the Government take the opportunity of defining their attitude to the "Buy Indian League which has recently been inagurated. The Government have no wish to put any obstacle in the way of the genuine advertisement of India goods but the fact remains that "Swadeshi" enterprise has unfortunately became associated with civil disobedience. This association must obviously be a source of embarassment to the officers of the "By Indian League". It behaves them therefore to conduct their propaganda with great circumspection and avoid even the appearance of sympathy with any unlawful movement not forgetting that there is a definite ~~danger~~ danger that the civil disobedience party may adopt the disguise of "By Indian to cloatch their illegal activities.

FICCITIOUS DEMONSTRATION:-- While conditions
... Presidency are abnormal some restrictions must
... on activities which in normal times would be
...ble. That then is real danger of ~~miuse~~ misuse

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OF 'By Indian" propaganda by the civil disobedience party for their own ends in evident from a recent incident which accured in the village of Aratamur, Ramachandrapuram Taluk. East Godavari district. A Fictitious "By Indian" demonstration was arranged in the hope that the public might be entrapped into taking forcible action. When the trap failed, a report was invented of an imaginery lathi charge which never, in fact, took place, a typical example of the uncrupulous methods adopted by the civil disobedience leaders.

It is in order to avoid all danger of misunderstanding that the officers of the "Buy Indian" League have been asked toget into touch with the Commission of piluce in Madras and District Magistrate in the mofussil before beginning their operations, for hasty and inconsiderate action may produce complication and defeat the objects of the league.

TEMPLE ENTRY.

15th June, 1932.

Mr. Justice remesam's important Judgement in the Guruvayur dispute should be given careful consideration by the advocates of temple entry for the Depressed classes. The elevation of the respondents in social status, which is really the object they and their sympathisers have in view, is not to be achieved by trespassing on isolated rights here, and there, or by trying to encroach forcibly upon such rights. The rights created by custom, expecially religions custom, have to be respected, even if not reasonable from a moral point of view. When the entire Hindu social system is reformed, the rest will follow. Meanwhile, if they do not like submission to these restrictions they can ignore them in otherways which are not illegal. This is an excellent commonsense view of the situation. It is, of course, arguable thatm if the rights of the depressed depend upon the reform of the Hindu social system and they may not take any steps to advance its reformation, their position is hopeless. But there are other reforms which are more urgent which may be agitated for in ways which are not illegal.

Unless the temple entry movement is to be regarded purely as a gesture, and the law does not encourage gestures which e ...erfer with established rights and privileges ...operty holders - then it is, as Mr. Justice ... argued, entirely inconsistant. The ...try agitators cannot have their cake ... "If they attach the least santity

to the temple and still want all the privileges connected with it, they must submit to the restrictions incidental to the religious system of which the temple is a creature". In other words, if they attach any value to the continued existence of the Hindus religion as at present organised, then they must accept that organisation. If they do not, they are at liberty to start a reformist variant.. Reform of the orthodox system must come from within, not from without. It is true that effective agitation may be carried on which will ~~will ad~~ induce those with the fold to accept more liberal views, but any agitation which promotes the antogomism of the general body of the orthodox will clearly defeat its own purpose.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF PICKETING.

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7th July, 1932.

The latest Press communique issued by Government of Madras gives a very clear idea of the extent to which this Presidency has been affected by congress activities. It also explains why so many of the powers which would have lapsed upon the expiry of the old ordinances have been reassumed under the provisions of the new consolidating ordinance. The absérdity of Congress tactics, or the insinceruty of Congress intentions, is very plainly demonstrated, by the recrudexence of Congress activity within the past fortnight. It is argued that civil disobedience is a protest against the ordinances. Why then was a special effort made to defy the Government at the very time when the renewal of the ordinance was under discussion and when it was, presumably, still to be decided how many of the emergency powers should be retained by the Government of Madras? The nenewal of Congress activities was constructed as a proof that the majority of these powers should be retained.

It will be seen that the great majority of convictions under the ordinances - and they form very ~~[illegible]~~ nearly a quarter of the total number of convictions in connexion with the civil disobedience movement - were forpicketing. The ...nment point out that the coming into existenc

of the "Buy Indian" League has demonstrated the fa~~ls~~ity of the contention that boycotting and picketing are economic weapons and not political Government have every sympathy with the "Buy Indian" movement, which has opened legitimate ~~xxxxxxx~~ avenues for the promotion of the sale of Indian goods and the encouragement of Swadeshi enterprise. As a writer in the Round Table points out, many Indians, though, through out of sympathy with the methods of congress, gladly confine their purchases, as far as possible, to Swadeshi goods, It is only proper that they should do so, and it is to be hoped that Indian industry will benefit from the encouragement it receives. There is a danger that in all these national shopping movements "Buy British", as well as "Buy Indian" - the manufacture will be led, by his confidence in a secure market to offer goods of inferior quality. The danger is accentuated in India by the picketing methods of congress and the propaganda thatarticles should be purchased because they have a political significance In these circumstances, the production of shoddy goods is connived at and actually encouraged.

An instance has come to our notice of a ~~rent~~ recent swadeshi exhibition, held, we believe, not in this Presidency, but not far outside its bonders, in which a salesman was the merits of Indian matches to a small audience. He point out that it was said of Indian matches that they usually broke in stuking, and proceeded to demonstrate that they did not. The first match which he struck broke. The audience langhed. The demonstration

was unfortunate. Quite possibly the remaining matches in the box were all that he claimed them to be. But such attempts to sell articles on their merits arre rare. It is the fact that an article is Indian, that it bears the portrait of some well known political leader, or that it is khaddar, which is rebed upon to sell it. For, this reason, the boycott - picketing movement will, in the long run, do as much harm to Indian Industry as to British. But Whereas for British industry ~~a~~ the ~~ind~~ ~~the~~ harm may not be permanent for Indian industry it is likely to be so, unless Indian industrialists realize, before it is too late, that the encouragement which is being given to their sales for reasons unconnected with the merits of the articles sold will last only so long as the buying public remains in an uncritical mood.

THE FAST.

20th September 1932.

Mr. Gandhi is scheduled to begin his fast today, and already many hindus, in all parts of India, are mourning what is surely the most gratesque sacrifice a man has ever imposed upon himself. His followers profess to believe in the greatness of his action; but thereis nothing in it to admire. To lay down one's life for one's country, this is indeed a true and worthy sacrifice. But to use one's life as a pown in order to wring a certain decision from a section of one's countrymen, this is chicanery. Viewed without any knowledge of the issues involved, it may appear that seperate electorates weigh nothing in the balance against the life of a man, or even of a dog, and when the life is that of the Indian who has caught the imagination of the world, and of his own countrymen, more vivdly than any of his race except the ancient religious leaders, then the scales appear to be heavily weighted indeed. Mr. Gandhi's decision presents a vivid appeal to the imagination, so much we may admit. In this respect, it is unlike that of the unknown soldier who fell fighting for his country, in any of the great wars of history. Mr. Gandhi is a master of publicity. But in spite of the apparent strength of his challenge, the sentimental folk who are prepared to excourage any plan to some his life should remember that it is one man who is challenging

the future of many millions. He has declared. If I am wrong . . . . . "my death by fasting will be at once a penance for my error and a lifting of a weight from off those numberless men and women who have a childlike faith in my wisdom". But, from the pressure which is being brought to hear upon those leaders of the depressed classes who see their community's only hope for the future in the effective political representation of their interests, it is likely that, if Mr. Gandhi is wrong, he himself will undergo no penance. The penance will be that of the Depressed classes who strict adherence to the dharmic principle of ahimsa has led them to pledge their future in order that a life may be saved.

Men like Dr. Ambedkar are not inclined to surrender lightly. " I trust that he (Mr.Gandhi) will not drive me to the necessity of making a choice between his life and the rights of ~~any~~ my people, bound hand and foot, to the cast Hindus for generations to come But even they are obviously relactant to abide by their principles previously expressed, knowing what the consequence will be. We are told that the unanimous feeling at the meeting of the Bombay conference of leaders was that Mr. Gandhi's life must be saved. There is no doubt every effort should be made to this end. But it seems to us that it

would be more reasonable to take active ste
to prevent his carrying out his decision, them weakly to acquisce in it and coerce others into sacrificing their convictions. It will be seen that Dr. Ambedkar has wisely refused to accept vogue assurances from individual leaders whose proposals may or may not have a backing . But it seems that he may be prepared to accept Mr. Gandhi's assurances. Mr. Gandhi will celebrate his 63rd birthday inless than a fortnight and will no doubt surviv to be congratulated on having overcome the disruptive forces within the Hindu fold. But he is not immportal, and, unless his in fluence is very much stronger than there is yet any proof of its being, his assurance, remain valid only so long as he himself lives, if even so long as that, for there i no ~~ed~~ evidence that he can guarantee the support of orthodox Hindus even now.

Yet Mr. Gandhi's resolve has placed Dr. Ambedkar in what may prove to be an enviable position. To what length of sacrifice will Mr. Gandhi go to avoid the grant of seperate electorates to the Depressed classes? To the extent of sacrificing his own life, we know that. But will be go to the extent of calling off the civil disobedience movement, of assuring the participation of himself and the congress in the forthcoming constitutional discussions, of agreeing to th fullest constitutional guarantees for the and uplift of the depressed class

his attitude of non-cooperation with the Government he cannot do that and pledging, so far as is in his power, the support of the Congress for the new constitution when it is evolved. That would be a sacrifice indeed. For it might mean the sacrifice of prestige, an infinitely more bitter pill to swallow than starvation for one whose diet consists so largely of pride, but is other wise so meagre.

NOT A WHISPER OF CONGRESS.

""""

Released Prisoners Prefer a Quite Life.

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4th November, 1932.

KUMBAKONAM:- The leaders and "Volunteers" of the local Congress who are now out of jail do not, it seems to propose to reenter politics so long as the ordinances one in force. Many have returned to their villages and are leading a peaceful life.

From enquiries made, it appears that most of the released political prisoners have a lurking impression in their minds that they have burnt their figures rather badly by counting imprisonment. Some have become discouraged by the very poor response made by the public to the call of Mr. Gandhi and his associates.

So far as Kumbakonam is concerned there has no been even a whisper of the word "Congress" and in consequence the town is comparatively prosperous with a fair turnover of general trade. The situation in the district is peaceful, and for this credit is due to both officials and non officials.

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MRS. COUSINS "AARRESTED" AND RELEASED.

CRITICISM OF ORDINANCE BILL.

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8th December 1932.

A mild sensation was caused on the Marina last night Mrs. M.E. Cousim, who addressed a meeting on the Beach was arrested by a Sergeat and taken to the Marina were she was released by the Inspector of the division, pending further inquiries.

To protest against the passing of the ordinance Bill a meeting was held on the Triplicane beach yesterday evening. Mrs. M.E. Cousims, who was the principal speaker, spoke, spoke vehemently against the policy of the Government and expressed her strong protest against the ordinance Bill. Mr. B. Jaganadha Dass, Advocate, spoke on similar lines. He was followed by Mr. Pisharoti, a Congress Worker, who made a spirited speech..

SERGEANTS ORDER:- When Mr. Pisharoti was about to conclude, a sergeant appeared on the since and ordered the speaker to "stope" A commition qas was caused and Mrs. Cousins stool on the platform and said that the endorsed the appeal made by the previous speaker. She reitered her appeal for a protest against the ordinance Bill.

At this stage the sergeant said "I arrest you and Mrs. Cousins immediately followed him, saying, " In the name of India I Welcome this arrest".

The sergeant sconted Mrs. Consins to the Marina Inspector, who was on the scane, immediately interfered, released Mrs. Cousins pending further inquiries and permitted her to drive home.

SWADESHI MESEUM OPENED.

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SIR P.C. RAYS APPEAL TO INDIANS.

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20th December 1932.

The Swadeshi Bazaar and Museum organized by the "Buy Indian", league, Madras, were opened Yesterday evening-s at the Hisdustan Buildings, Sconjetown George, by Sri P.C. Ray.

Started some nine months ago, the "Buy Indian" League has been carrying on intensive propaganda for Swadeshi, and has helped in the opening of a large number of Swadeshi stores throughout the Presidency. Its principal object has been to open a museum of indigenous products, and their was realised yesterday by the opening of the Museum.

Before the opening ceremony took place a meeting was held in connexion with the function at the Gokhale hall, opposite the Hindustan Buildings where Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyyangar presided.

Sir P.C. Ray addressed a large gathering that had gathered at the Hall and declared the Bazaar and Museum open them crossed over the Hindustani Buildings with Mr. A. Rangaswami Ayyangar and others and visited the Bazaar and Museum.

In declaring the bazaar and Museum open Sri P.C. Ray spoke on the importance of Swadeshi in national reconstruction. He referred to the Chain of India's money on imports from foreign countries, and deplored the prevalence of festidious tastes among certain claases of the Indian people, which induced them to patronize foreign industries, while similar industries were in need of support in India itself.

Indians, he said, should enttivate the spirit of Swadeshi, India had a great tradition in trade and industry. In ancient times times plimy the Raman historian camplained that Raman patrician women patrionised Dacca muslins and similar articles made in India to so great an extent that the import of such goods in volued a heavy drain of Roman gold to India. The tables were now turned, and India sent money to other countries.

The people had developed a sense of fashion irrespective of their earning capacity. In certain places it was considered that, for gented living, one must own a motor car, even if one were earning ~~early~~ only about Rs.300 300 a month: If a person were to judge of the wealth of Madras from the number of motorgarages in the city, he or she would carry away the impression that the city was one of the richest in the country.

Indians have imbibed, he

the west without being able to as

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the westerns many vistues. The taste of the people had degenerated. The imported many articles from the west to lead a fasionable life in order. They should support swadeshi industries, even if the products were infenior in quality to imported goods, and were not as fashionable as the later in the enatial stages of the industry. In the result.

Several arts and industries far which India was once famous had did, and unemployment had become an acute problem. There was an im sa,e craze for the massproduction of graduates. The economic problems of the Country could be solved bnly by industrialisation. The attention of the people should be diverted from the pursuit of University degrees to the more productive finds do, of business and industry.

The Swadeshi Bazaar and Museum were then de declared open.

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EXTRACT FROM THE "MADRAS MAIL".
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AN UNPERTURBED DELEGATE.
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31st January 1933.

"There has been a lot of talk about safeguards I, for one, an not perturbed about them", said Dewan Bahadur A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, but recently returned from the R.J.C. at the Senate House yesterday. He taken the eminently sensible view that unless politicians and agitators provoke their use, the safeguards will remain, like emergency exists from theatres, un used. In normal times their existence will be mitually forgether. "No Viceroy could use these safeguards without raising a constitutional crisis, unless his action were fully justified", said Mr. Ramaswamy Mudaliar. The success of the constitution will to a large extent depend ipon the men who work it. "Nothing could be more true, and nothing could more surely confound those whose mission it is to misrepresent the results of the R.T.C. Mr. Mudaliar, in his University lectures on the Indian Federation, has throughout shown himself to be a man of reason. He is not frightened by the bogies conjured up by the disgruntled, by extremists who see nothing but evil in anything that does not sqrore with their own extravagant theories. He has returned to India convince of the sincerity of H.Mrs.Governments intention to fullfil the pledges given to the Indian people.

If it has accomplished nothing more reestablish confedence in the delegate f the third R.T.C. would have been worthw

But it did accomplisg more, it brought all parties face to face with hard facts, and welded them together in a desire to find solutionsfar problems which, till then, had eluded solutions. That much accomplished is evident in the official Report published today. The Committee system encouraged plain speaking, and out of plain speaking come a better understanding of the issues to be dealt with, and the difficulties to be overcome.

Today India is decidedly nearer her goal because responsible delegates at the 3rd R.T.C. worked incessantly to discover that comprimise which would best serve the interests of India while keeping in mind claims of conflicting interests. There one still many questions to be answered, many issues to be decided, b ut the picture, presented by this official report is far more complete than any that has preceded it. The details have been largely sketched in to the broad out live of the constitutional plan prepared by the earlier R.T.C. and a more constructive spirit has been produced. The success of the future constitution will indeed depend on the men who work it. Now is the time when politicians and public men of every political colour and creed should be preparing themselves, and the electorate, to shoulder the great responsibilities, to carry out the great tasks before them.

A true should be called to the campaign against ordered government, and a public opinion should be created which will approve intolerance in whatever f[orm] for it manifests itself.

BAN OR CONGRESS SESSION.

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<u>1st March, 1933</u>.

Interviewed on the ban imposed on the Congress session arranged to be held at calcutta about the end of this month, Mr. S. Satyamurthi s said.

"I consider the Government of India's action unfortunate. The Congress has not been declared an unlawful association in theiry, but in practice, it is treated as if it is an unlawful association. If the Government desire Congress cooperation this is not the best way of obtaining it. It is going to make the situation difficult for everybody, even for those within the congress who may wish to content the ensuing elections.

CALM ATMOSPHERE:- Mr. Abdul Hamind Khan, M.L.C. said:- I was under the impression that the Government have been trying to secure a calm atmosphere for a proper response to the white paper, but their most recent action in banning the Congress session does not appear to be very hopeful.

If the Government are anxious that the country, including the Congress, should consider the white paper carefully and come to a conclusion on participating in the ensuing general election, they will have to raise the an. It looks as if the Government are more afraid the Congress cooperating with them than of ation.

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CONGRESS PLANS:-

Mr. S. VenkataChallam Chetty, M.L.C

"I think that a shewed Government would have by [illegible] time discovered that several leading congressmen are considering the desirability of some of them entering the councils. Mr. Gandhi himself is now more concerned with the uplist of the depressed classes In these circumstances it would have been wise to uncourage, the assembly of the Congress, unless the Government are afraid that the white paper will certai[illegible] [n]othing that will satisfy, even moderate opinion".

...

completed

"The one important thing which necessitated the formation of the new, party was the resolution passed at the karachi session of the Congress, relating to safeguards about private ownership of land, industries religions practices and permicious habits and customs, which have since been incoporated into the Congress constitution. These safeg-aards were most dangerous in character and calculated to perpetuate their private ownship of lands and other customs and thus utterly seen the Country, leaving no chance for the general advancement of the masses. The members of the Sama Dharma Party are convinced that the Congress is the most reactionary political party in the country, and that the whole Congress fight is directed for the perpetuation of the capitalist government in the country by simply substituting a Brown Government for a white one".

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of which the new Party was formed, Mr. Singaravelu Chettiar said that during the early days of the movement self respectus associated themselves with the Justice Party and helped, the members of that party in elections to the legislaturers and local boards. "But the Justice Party", continued Mr. Chettiar, " last touch with the masses for whom they were supposed to work and consequently the selfrespecters openly criticised the attitude of the leaders of the Justice Party towards the masses. Thus began the revolt against the Justice Party. During this period the Self Respect Movement had no political Platform.

OPENWARFARE.:--- Continuing Mr. Chettiar observed The Kudi Arasu the official organ of the Self Respect Movement, began of openwarfare against the Congress as a reactionary and a class movement supporting the Chief bourgoisic of India and all manner of superstitions prevailing in the Country. The self respectus were also influenced by the prevailing world of ideas of solialism and communism and the younger members of the movement become more and more inclined to support the masses movement as against the class movement of the Congress It was at this stage that Mr. Naicker and Mr. S. Ramanathan left for Europe to study the various social and political movement of that continent. The need for a political platform for the Self Respect movement was felt by the leaders of the movement and on the return of Mr. Ramaswamy Naicker the Sama Dharma [illegible] formed.

"The one important thing which necessitated the formation of the new, party was the resolution passed at the karachi session of the Congress, relating to safeguards about private ownership of land, industries religions practices and permicious habits and customs, which have since been incoporated into the Congress constitution. These safeg-aards were most dangerous in character and calculated to perpetuate their private ownship of lands and other customs and thus utterly seen the Country, leaving no chance for the general advancement of the masses. The members of the Sama Dharma Party are convinced that the Congress is the most reactionary political party in the country, and that the whole Congress fight is directed for the perplex perpetuation of the capitalist government in the country by simply substituting a Brown Government for a white one".

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GANDHIJIS DISCIPLE BEGINS HER FAST IN MADRAS.
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CONFIDENT OF SUCCESS.
"""

8th May, 1933.

In the hope that she will be able to compel Mr. Gandhi to give up his fast, Dr. Margaret Speigel, the German Jewes disciple of Mr. Gandhi commenced her fast today at 12 noon at the office of the Madras Free thinkers Association, Harris Road.

Squatting on a mattress in Indian style she took her food at 11-30 A.M. which consisted of fruits and ~~w~~ sweetmeats and milk, while Mr. H.D. Rajah, President of the Madras. Free thinkers Association, read some ~~a~~ passages from Mr. Gandhi's "Yound India" if at her request.

She looked cheerful and told a representative of "The Madras ~~Madra~~ Mail" who calledon her today. "I am serve I shall be able to compel Mr. Gandhi to refrain from ~~xxxxxxily~~ committing suicide by fasting".

She wrote a letter to Mr. Gandhi this morning explaining her action.

Dr. A.N. Vaidyanathan and Dr. A. Lakshipathy have a undertaken to render her any medical assistance she may require triplace Beach Meeting.

"Mr. Gandhi is tired ~~of~~ life, he cause his followers have driven him to despair. They have pretended to work for the removal of untouchability, but worked only on wonds, not deeds.

These remarks were made by [illegible]

special ~~Speigel~~, addressing a public meeting y[illegible]

Triplicane Beach.

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Dr. Speigal said that she intended to fight Mr. Gandhi with his own weapon in order to save his life, to fast and thus compel him to give up his fast. She said "My fast is bound to make him give up his own, for the prophet of 'Ahimsa' who would not kill even a poisonous snake cannot cause the death to a girt. The shocking impurity among his workers canvence be removed by himself immotation, but by his influence and devotion to the couse".

Concluding she observed "Let us abolish all distinctions between man and man. There should be interdining. All schools should admit children of the depressed classes and all temples and walls should be thrown open to all. Instead of praying for Mr. Gandhi's life, I want you to work for his cause, the cause of the depressed classes.

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HARIJAN ENTER A TEMPLE.

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9th May, 1933. Madras City.

A mind sensation prevailed in Sowcarpet last night when about 250 persons believed to be Harijans i entered the Subramania temple in China Bazaar Road and walked out again.

The temple is stated to be endowed solely for the use va of various, who are caste Hindus, and the depressed classes are not allowed to enter it.

At about 8 P.M. when the usual puja was proceeding the visitors entered the premises of the temple, and from near the main entrance shouted, "Gamdhi Ki Jai" for a few minutes, and their withdrew peacefully.

While leaxming the temple the Harijans shouted. "Trustees Ki Jai", apparently in appreciation of the attitude of the trustees of the temple, in not having prohibited their entry, which they claimed, was equivalent to throwing the temple open to them.

From this demonstration the temple servants learned that the intruders were members of the depressed classes.

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MR. GANDHI'S RELEASE AND ITS SEQUEL.

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9th May, 1933.

Mr. Gandhi has been released and has, through Mr. Aney, declared that the civil dis obedience movement is suspended for sixweeks. The two events are ~~ere~~ widely welcomes. They cannote an appreciation by the Government of the gravity of Mr. Gandhi's fast and a realization by Mr. Gandhi himself that the reason for his release inhibits his pursuing the policy of civil dis-obedience at least for the duration of the fast .Mr. Gandhi wants to discuss the whole policy of the Government, to question their right to take special measures against those whose whole purpose is the overthrew of constitutional authority and the substitution of Congress Raj. In the working committee resolution which Mr. Gandhi admits headmised we find that the Committee make a grievance of the fact that (the British Government was not prepared at the Round Table Conference to regard the Congress as the only political organisation representing the entitled to speak and act on behalf of the nation as a whole. Mr. Gandhi presumably, desires to resume the claim, and six weeks hence will demand that the congress above shall be consulted by the government.)

We know how vail is the Congress claim to a representative capacity today. Mr. Gandhi's recent activities have driven millions into opposition parties. There is confident talk in many quarters of a forthcoming modification of the Congress programme. South modification, however, should come before nagotiations with the Government, and should include the defenite abandonment of civil disobedience as a political weapon. There is nothing in Mr. Gandhi's message to encourage the belief that such modification is probable. If it comes it will be welcomes, and will pave the way for that cooperation between the Government and the Party which is impossible on the terms Mr. Gandhi produced on his return from England.

CONGRESS PARTY STILL SUBMISSIVE.

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15th July, 1933.

Once more Mr. Gandhi has asserted his ascendency over the Congress Party and compelled its leaders to continue a policy which they know is discredited, The reaction of the Poona decision in Madras is evident in the interviews we publish to-day. "The decision of the conferences has stifled public opinion, and, in the name of prestige, allowed the country to drift, says Mr. K.S. Gopalakrishnan. "I am sorry to note that the Congress leaders have again hangled", says Dr.P. Varadarajulu Nayudu, while Mr. S. Satyamurthi, whose attempt to secure the adoption of constructive methods failed, considers that "It is very sad that after all the Poona Conference has made, what I consider, a wrong decision . . . . The Country is not ready for a resumption of the civil dis obedience campaign and Mr. Gandhi knows it". These ... are the voices of Mr. Gandhis partisons. Those ... who do not belong to his Party express even stronger views, and the general opinion is summed up in the phrase; "The fast has altered nothing Mr. Gandhi remains the supreme egoist, the most obsessed and gullible of leaders.

Mr. Gandhi has gone back to December 1931. ...g first secured a vote of the Congress leaders ...r of the resumption of the civil disobedience ... wired to Lord Willingdon asking for an uncon... interview. This is precisely the course ...ed in December 1931. His telegram brought ...ious reply. The Viceroy refused to discuss

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d the special measures taken to combat
activities of the Congress Part. This
re[illegible] ollowed by a letter from Mr. Gandhi to
the Vi[illegible] epeating his request for an unconditiona
interview [illegible] omising that civil disobedience would be
suspended pending an agreement satisfactory to the
Congress. The Viceroys reply to this letter expressed
surprise at the tone of Mr. Gandhi's letter. "His
Excellency and the Government can hardly believe tha
you or the Working Committee contemplate that His
Excellency can invite you, with the hope of any
advantage, to an interview under the threat of the
resumption of civil dis obedience."

Mr. Gandhi, for whose megalomania there seems to no cure, is repeating the programme. The telegram has been sent, the inevitable reply will be followed by letters, and in the ebd long propagandist screeds will appear in the Press. (On August, Civil dis obedience will be resumed, and in due course, unless the unexpected happens, Mr. Gandhi will return to his quarters in Yerawada Jail to resume the work for the Harijans interupted by his fast and subsequent incapacitation. Then once again the political situation in India will be allowed to drift, the Congress Party being importent becuase its leaders [illegible] the spell of one man whose impracticable [illegible] can neither support nor oppose.

What a curious contrast Indi[illegible]
to the outside world. Her delegates [illegible]
her press generally, insist that I[illegible]
large measure of responsible self[illegible]
hundreds of her leading men asse[illegible]
to the dictatorship of one whos[illegible]
sible self government impossib[illegible]

democracy in the the Congress ... and file is never consulted. ... or says is blindly obeyed. If the ... ship were beneficial it might be tol... If it were calculated to promote Indias in...ts it would be supported. As it is Congres... men themselves denounce it secretly, and affirms that Mr. Gandhi is ruing the Party. These secret mutlerings, these behind door censurings are evidence of weakness. What India wants today is some one who will challenge the supremacy of the Gandhi cult. The nation is ready for such a leader, it is weary of the barren creds, non cooperation. boycott, civil disobedience, and the like on which it has been fed for nearly twenty years. Not only have they led to confusion in India, but they strenghtened the hands of the opponents of Indias constitutional advance. The reactionaries in England draw their arguments from the situation created by the Congress Party. The doubts they arouse are born of facts willed from Congress Party propaganda, this weeks, main has brought weighty envidence of this in a lengthy article of by Lord Rothermere in 'the Daily Mail'. Thus the ...al enemies of India's progress are those who ...etend to be her best friends. Is there no one ...ng India's leaders ready to take up the ...lenge that Gandhism and the Diehards alike present? ... then India's future is gloomy indeed, ...sons are deserting her in the hour of ...est need.

TIME THEY CAME TO AN END.
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29th Augast, 1933.

Bearing in mind the recent strictures passed by Provincial Governments and leading public man on the working of local bodies the cynical might read a sinister meaning into Sri Shunmugham Chettiars use of the word "Manage" in his tribute to the "remarkable aptitude of our countrymen for acquiring the technique of Parliamentary procedure". After declaring that he attached considerable importance to the adherence to rules of procedure and the maintenance of order in a legislative body. Sir Shunmugham declared. "Judged by this standard our countrymen have shown as remarkable spititude and capacity to manage representative institutions". We may, however, leave the cynics to find what pleasure they can in the choice of this verb, for general opinion condially endorses the Presidents tribute to the conduct of the members of the Assembly. They have maintained order and decorum in the chamber, and by their forbearance ensured free expression of opinion, the very foundation of Parliamentary life.

The President is an even now faithful interpreter of public opinion when he declares that what ever difference of opinion there may be here and in India about the merits of the Whipe Paper and the utility of conferences and Committees everyone is agreed that it is hightime that those discussions and conferences came to an end. "In [illegible]rminate delay in inaugurating the new constitution [illegible] more potentialities of mischief than any positive [illegible]scontent with scheme itself. In these words Sir S[illegible]ugham expressed a general opinion. The Count[illegible] these discussions, and thinks t[illegible] "to cut the cackle and get to[illegible]

"to cut the cackle and get to the horses". Five years of investigation, conferences, committees, and journeys to and fro have left the country weary of talk. Almost any constitution, provided it recognises the pledges given, would be welcome to the present position of statement. Ministries are weary of it as the electors. The blight of uncertainsity is killing initiative and destroying all desire to act. "Wait untill the Reforms are inagurated" is the answer given to every suggestion. None desires to act. None is prepared even to produce a policy. The furnish activity of the year proceeding the introduction of the montford Reforms in Madras, a year which, under the inspiration of Lord Willingdon, saw the passing of Bills amending the Acts governing municipalities and local boards, is entirely absent. And there seems no prospect of improvement until the present uncertainity is ended and the new constitution is framed and enacted by Parliament.

Sir Shamugam Chettiar alluded to the gloomy forecasts recently given by promonent men about the possible pace of the constitution making now in progress. Much of the delay is caused by the anxciety of His Majesty's government to hear all views, to leave no sense of deprivation in any quarter. But that laudable desire can produce excessive caution and unpardonable delay. Th[illegible] conferences and consultations of the last [illegible] years have given abundant apportunity to [illegible] point of view to present its case. If this [illegible]ot baendone, the holders not the Government [illegible] blame. The time has now come toget down.

to genuinely constructive work, and nothing could be more certain to secure a favourable reception for the coming constitution than evidence of the determination of H.M's Government and Parliamentto push the remaining stages of constitution making through at all possible speed.

Sir Shanmugam alleded to the remarkable constitutional innovation embodied in the decision to conduct the in pending negotiations between India and Japan in India. This is a further evidence of the influence of usage and convention in conveying considerable powers and priviliges from the mother country to the Dominions. Like ever ourselves, the President believes that this is the natural evolution of dominion status in India. "It is indeed a far cry between to white paper and dominion status he said and yet I believe that Dominion status in practice can be achieved by simply making the special and extra ordinary powers rusty by non use". That is the way in which the Dominions have reached their present position. Sir Shanmugham has appealed for a new approach to constitutional issue" "We must, therefore, build up a new India not on the foundation of Acts of Parliament and Constitutional dectrines, but on the genuine and sincere cooperation of men of good will in India and England".

THE VICEROY AND DOMINION STATUS.

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15th December 1933.

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When Lord Willindon speaks of Madras he does so with obvious sincerity. Madras is dear to him, here he learnt many lessons which have assisted him in the greater tasks to which, since leaving the governor-ship of this Presidency, he has been called. His speech at the trades Association dinner in his honour yesterday, evening emphasised the pleasure he feels at being here once more. It further impressed upon all who heard him how sincerely anxcious he is to further India's constitutional progress. Referring to his policy since he returned to India, His Excellency declared that "every action I have taken during this period has been for one purpose and one purpose alone, to secure a satisfactory and peaceful atmosphere in order to push forward the constitutional reforms in order to helps India forward to her goal, that goal of absolute equality with other Dominions within the Empire, a goal for which I think I can truly say I have worked ever since I became associated with India". There is no ambiguity here. Those who complain that the Government have abondaned Dom... ...tus as the goal of India have here thin... ...ceroy, head of the Government ... is "absolute equality with ... ...ions within the Empire", coul... ...g be more clear? It emphasises an

earlier statement by His Excellency to the effect that he is not afraid of the term "Dominian Status" and should satisfy all save those who are unwilling to be convinced of the governments bona fids.

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MR. GADHI IN MADRAS.
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20th December 1933.

Large crowds gathered to greet Mr. Gandhi on his arrival in the city this morning, and fave him an enthusiastic if some what disorderly welcome as he drove to the Municipal offices to receive an address of welcome from the city council. That address a- was couches in admirable language, and recognised the limitations which Mr. Gandhi himself has placed upon his present activities. If Mt. Gandhi can assist the corporation to rid the city of slums, if he can awaken the moral conscience of those prosperty owners whose property these slums are, if he can stilulate in the inhabitants of these slums a self respect which shall make them clean in person and habits and generally better citizens he will have proved a real helper. And, more, he will have done more to uplift the depressed and backward classes than the opening of a multitude of temples.

Mr. Gandhi, in his reply to the address, showed himself to be a sensible and observant visitor. He recalled how when he was here before
... referred to the condition of our public streets,
... how these streets were used for insanitary purposes
by men who should know better. He added
... xpected that there has been a vast impro-
... t direction. We fear that his expectations
... be fulfilled. Today, still our streets
... ed by men who should know better; many
... crowded round Mr. Gandhi are among the
... r so far the Congress Party has done

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little or nothing to rouse a civic conscience in its followers, to teach them the rudiments of selfgovernment in habit. If this coming stilulates his followers to realise the importance of cleanliness in habit as well as in thought, if it brings about a better understanding of the duties of individuals in the social organism, it will have done much good and we shall have reason to be grateful. In this regard we are pessimistic, politics, not withstanding Mr. Gandhi's own diporce from them, still obsess his followers, and social conduct is little consisdered. Mr. Gandhi claims to have come south on a deeply humanitarian mission. So faras the mission was the uplift of the Harijans, with the improvement of their conditions, and the brightening of their outlook he will have the support of every community have when, however, he seeks to impose his own interpretation of ~~sacri~~ scriptural tests upon those who differ from him he is bound to ~~u~~ encounter opposition, opposition as firmly based on conscientions scruples as his own. We do not doubt that he will respect such scruplus while seeking to convert his opponents, and we would urge him to labour unceasingly to persuade his followers to be as tolerant of others views as he himself is, and as scruplous in abstaining from abuse and vituperation.

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EXTRACT FROM THE MADRAS MAIL.
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"DOMINION STATUS".
...

27th January 1934.

Dominion Status is the status of a Dominion. No other definition can give it a fixed meaning. Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyyars illuminating lecture on "The Legal and Constitutional Aspects of Dominion Status with reference to the statute of Westminister" shows that the present status of the British Dominions is the product of history and that further evolution is not impossible. It would be interesting to discuss whether Newfoundland now possesses Dominion status. It is a Dominion and it possesses a status which is certainly that of nothing other than a Dominion, but it is not that kind of status which is implied when the term "Dominion status" is generally employed. Whatever its definition, the term as currently used in India has a meaning for those who employ it, and that meaning would not be carried into practical effect is the Indian Empire became the Dominion of India xxxxx overnigh Although an unnecessary amount of emphasis may seem to be devoted to the demand that Indian be given Dominion status and no other, it is the reality of that status as at present manifested in the Dominions which is required. Called by any other name, it would probably soon be found to have as sweet a savour Nevertheless, since the term is used, it is of to discover how it came to be used, and such s as xxx Sri Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyyars are fu fertile suggestions.

It is clear in the first pla constitutions which were assigned to th were the begining and not the end of th Those constitutions are not complętel

to present conditions. The conventions of the constitution have, in some respects, played a more important put than the written constitution itself. In the second place, it is clear that the present status of the Dominions has been developed and of a more or less complete interval souverignity into a new fairly complete sovereignty both internal and is external. As Sir Alladi pointed out, the history of Dominion Governments has shown that genuine responsible government is impossible in the internal sphere without the country becoming ultimately the arbiter of its own foreign policy, trade relations and defence. The white Paper proposals should be examined and criticised from this point view, that it is not what they give now but what a opportunity they offer of becoming which is important. The future is India's.

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THE CHIEF MINISTER'S TRIUMPH.

3rd February, 1934.

'The large majority by which the Bills to abolish taluk boards was referred to a select Committee encourages the hope that the Legislature will endorse the bold initiative of the Chief Minister by passing the bill when it emerges from the Committee.' The Rajah of Bobbili's speech in defence of the measure was one of the most courageous utterances yet delivered in the House. Rumours of dissension in his party over the measure have long been prevalent, there has even been talk of a split, but none of his critics could refine the facts he adduced in favour of the measure, or indicate in what other way the problems of local self government finance can be solved. The taluk boards have served their purpose. 'The development of the village panchayat a development desired by leaders of all shades of public opinion in the Province,' has rendered them superglous. The now serving in taluk boards can, if they will, find abundant scope for public work in the village panchayats, where their guidance will be increasingly needed as the social spirit develops among the villagers. To declare that the abolition of taluk, boards is a restriction of democracy is to deny that village panchayats are democratic, and, denying it, to denounce us insincere the incessant advacercy for the revival of the village panchayat as the foundation of the administr-ative structu[illegible] province. The Select Committee has a re[illegible] task to perform. It has to resist th[illegible]

of vested interests, to faster the spirit of self haxf help among villagers, and to see that discussions, not merely fulfills its p purpose, but fulfils it in the simplest and most practical manner. Above all it should complete its work speedily, for the ills which the Bill is designed to cure cure one a grave.

OBSTRUCTION LEADS NOWHERE.

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5th April, 1934.

While rejoicing at the results of the meeting of Congress leaders in Delhi, and the prospect of the Right Wing of the Party once more being allowed to pursouce constitutional courses. Madras Swarajists are determined not to be led once more into the barren paths of mere obstruction. Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu, the leader of the Andhra Swaragists, has made this clear. "My experience of the work of the Swarajya Party in the Councils for five years from 1925 has convinced ~~the~~ me that a mere programme of obstruction will lead nowhere". It has convinced others, too, Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar said that if the situation arose in which they were required to accept office they would certainly do so. That is a tremendous advance towards sound constitutions practice. For some fifteen years the Congress Party has striven to secure results by pursuing negative and destructive policies. It has failed as Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu show The time has now come to show that in future it will not be afraid to shoulder responsibility. Madras Swarajists are prepared to do so; what of their contemporarins in other Provinces? ~~It~~ is too to say, but if Mr. Gandhi's ~~li~~ letter to means anything at all it must be that thinks that if the Swaraj Party is be prepared to go the wholeway. responsibilities as well as constitution offers.

COMING TOO SOON.

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16th April 1934.

"Don't you think that democracy is coming too soon in this Country"? a questioner asked Sir. C.P. Ramaswamy Iyyar on Friday last. That the question should ever have been asked in a public meeting demonstrates the growing courage of those who doubt the value of democracy to India. Two years ago the questioner would have been shouted down and loanded out of the meeting, today be voices so considerable a volume of public opinion that his question is treated seriously, and answered fairly. Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Ayyar did not redicule his questioner. He agreed that throughout the world today faith in democracy is diminishing, but he feared that in India we had gone too far in the direction of asking for democracy to draw back now. "Let us try it. If it fails we may think of a substitute". In the palmy days of the four annas suffsage such language would have been deemed xxxx bussy, to day it is heard and none disents. The six years that have elapsed since the appointment of the Simon Commission have opened xxxx many eyes.

who thought that democracies were suspician

eginning to change their minds and to

th Mr. Michael Beaumont, Mr. P., that

of no use to India. There is not

ference in point of view between Mr.

A.G. Sankara Ayyar of Kumbakonam,

though each has travelled along different pa
reach his present conclusion. But much as we ma,
w question the suitability of democracy to India, we may agree with Sir C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar that the experiment must now be tried. A dictatorship may be inevitabl but it cannot be imposed on India. Her people, too, must learn from experience, though doubtless the period of learning will be short.

A SWARAJIST LEADER CONFESSES HIS FAITH.
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18th April 1934.

Mr. Satyamurthi has come out as an anowed believer in Socialism. He affairms that socialism is the policy of the Swarajya Party, of which, in the Tamil Nad, he is the principal spokesman "All key industries of the land should be in the hands of the State", said Mr. Satyamurthi at Kumbakonam. Agriculture is a key industry, the biggest in India, and it follows, therefore, that Mr. Satyamurthi believes in the socialisation of the land, or, to put it in plain language, in the policy of collective holdings, involving the abolition of private ownership of land, cattle and the implements of cultivation. It is not a far cry from this to the Bolshevist policy of collectivisation, with the agriculturists dispossessed and herded in banacks. What does rural India think of such a policy? It disregard altogether the inherent desire of every Indian to own his own homestead, his own house. Mr. Satyamurthy will reply that he speaks for the great multitude which owns nothing, but we doubt whether he can substantiate that claim or even prove that the class exists.

Incedentally, Mr. Satyamurthi also declares that the Swarajists will revive civil disobedience in the farm of refusing to pay taxes if the ...g autonomous provincial Government does not, ...e such reductions of taxation as his Socialist

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Party demands. It is interesting to find one who has declared civil dis obedience to be a worthless weapon thus foreshandowing its revival.. Of Course, if the Swarajists take office, passive resistance in the shape of non payment of taxes will be illegal and seditions Such is the power of office to transmute opinion.

A SHORT LIVED PARTY.

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21st May, 1934.

The 1934 Swaraj Party was probably the shortest lived political Party in the history of India. Born at Ranchi on May 4 it died at Patna on May 20. And the sad thing about it is that its progenitors are not very sorry about its disuse. Mr. Satyamurthi alone seems to shed a teear, but Mr. Bhulabai Desai is frankly glad. It is clear that he anticipates that as a unit of the Congress Parliamentary Party will carry more weight in the Constituencies. Until an election takes place any views on this subject must be speculative, but we doubt whether the Congress Political Party will be able to shake off the influence of the congress socialist Party, and electors may be chary of noting for candidates who may be compelled to pursue a policy of expropriation should the Congress Socialist Party capture the machinery of the Congress during the life of an Assembly. We do not doubt that Mr. Satyamurthi s rewdly forsees difficulties arising from this relationship when he seeks the noted of the electors of the Tamil Nad. Some of the more influential of these have lately had experience of the results of Congress Socialist agitation among the peasant classes. One inamdar recently had most unpleasant experience when trying to explain to cultivators why he could not comply with their extravagant demands. Doubtless others have had like experiences.

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Moreover, the average elector will desire a representative whom he may rely on to keep to his post in the Assembly. Mr. Gandhi's speech at Patna shows that the Congress condidates will, if elected, be expected to walk out of the Assembly at the command of a majority of the Congress, on at the bidding of Mr. Gandhi's own inner voice. It is an untanable situation, and by imposing this condition on recognition Mr. Gandhi and the Congress majority have effectively habbled their pro-council collegues.

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THE CONGRESS AND SOCIALISM.

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5th July, 1934.

Mr. S. Satyamurthi criticises us for taking Mr. Gandhi at his word. And to support his criticism he deliberately misrepresents us writing on Mr. Gandhi's encouragement to the Socialists within the Congress we said. " The Socialists have wisely decided to stands body alöof from the elections, the time is not ripe for their interven±tion. But they have secured a footing in the Parliamentary Board and one represented in the Working Committee, so their influence will be felt. A vote given for the congress Part may, therefore, as prove to be a a vote given for socialism, for the abolition of private ownership our the whöle range of human passession.. . . . ".

Mr. Satyamurthi , in quoting thus passage, deliberately omits the words ."may prove to be" and accuses us of falsely representing the Congress policy which, he owns, "does not stand for the vise use of private property, for the reconciliation of the claims of labour and capital of the landed and the landless". That, we readily admit, is his interpretation of the Congress Party's policy, but his interpretation has already been challenged by Bombay congressmen and wholly ignores the r[illegible]s of Mr. Gandhis meeting with Congress Soc[illegible]sts. While Mr. Satyamurthi affirms that the Co[illegible]gress does not stand for a class war, Mr. Gandhi a[illegible]sures Congress Socialists, that provided

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the class struggle was non-violent he has no objection to Congressmen participating in such a struggle. Mr. Gandhi further declares that he would certainly be glad if Congress Socialists of the right type, i.e. non-violent Socialists, gathered strenthea nd took charge of the Congress.

These statements cannot be ignored by ot[...] folk, whatever the attitude of Mr. Satyamurthi and t[...] Congressmen who think like him may be towards them. They furnish proof that Mr. Gandhi is sympathetic towa[...] the Socialist attitude towards private ownership, and the rest of the marsxian creed to which Congress Socialists subscribe. And what Mr. Gandhin approves sooner or latter becomes the accepted policy of the Congress. There is, therefore, abundant £ justification for remeinding electors that a vote given to the Congress Party may prove to be a vote for socialism. No misrepresentation by Mr. Satyamurthi can alter that fact, no wilful ignoring of Mr. Gandhi's statements obscure it.

The electors would be helped if the Co[...] election campaigners would be more explicit a[...] Party's policy. What does Mr. Satyamurthi me[...] he says that the Congress stands for "a jus[...] wiser use of private property, the reconc[...] the claims of capital and labour, of the [...] landess"? How does the Congress Part[...] secure these things? Does it intend [...] legislation governing the use of pr[...] tions between employer and employer[...]

redistribute land among the landowners and the landuss? If so, why does he not tell the electors how these things are to be done and in what way his method will differ from that of the professed Socialists. We do not accuse Mr. Satyamurthi of being a Socialist nothing could be further from our minds or more contrary to our knowledge of him - but we do say that he has not studied the full import of the terms he employs, and that the Congress policy as he states it implies a measure of state control over individual liberty scarcely to be distinguished from the control openly advacated by Congress Socialists.

What is the Congress true attitude towards private property? And what is its real policy? Mr. Satyamurthi says one they. Pandit Malaviya another and the leader of the Congress Socialists another. The elect r ask for facts not opinions.

When Mr. Satyamurthi declares that we are uncomfortable because the Congress Party has decided to contest the elections he says what he would like his hearers to believe ~~to~~ but what he knows to be untrue. We welcomed the Congress decision to content the elections when it was made, we shall welcome the return of Congress andidates to the Assembly, where after, the sure of their success, because we know, hen faced with realities the Congress Party bandon many of the high falutin phrases substitutes for real policy and graffle with

problems it now avoids. We shall continue to publish news of Congress Party activities as we have done in the past and shall not try to usurp, as Mr. Rajagópalacharior would, the electors, right to make his own choice. But we shall continue to exposes evasion and equivocation, and to seek to secure for the electors ~~of~~ a full and true statement of what the parties stand for. So far, beyond Mr. Satyamurthi's obscure phrase about the "juster and wiser use of private property" and equally obscure references to the Karachi resolutions the elector has been told little or nothing about the Congress attitude to this important issue of private ownership.

THE PROGRAMME JETTISONED.

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Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar is a politician who would delight the dictators of this world. To him programmes count for nothing, responsibilities can be disowned without explanation or excuse. All he desires is that the Party he represents should be able to prevent any other party from undertaking those responsibilities. The coming Assembly elections are not, in his view, an occasion when the voted should weight the merits of political programmes and make his choice with a full recognition of the responsibilityes involved Mr. Rajagopalachariar asks the elector to plus for the Congress, not for the Congress Programme, that is of little importance but for the dictatorship of the Congress. And should they do so they must note without any expectation of service from successful Congress candidates "Real victory stors with our success at the polls and subsequent events will be merely childs play. It is immaterial whether the Congress members attend the Assembly or not after the elections". Constituencies that return Congress will now do so with their eyes open. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar is to be thouthed for so ...idly refusing to hide the truth from them.

They may, however, fairly ask what has ...come of the Congress programme? Has the Congress ...ned all intention of seeking the ...he Assembly for its proposal to ...uent assembly to solve the ...norities problem and from a new ...n Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, who is in the

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inner counsels of the congress hierarchy replies "YES" The constituent assembly was the Congress solvent for all India's ills. Now it has apparently been abandoned, since the proposal to summon a constituent assembly based on adult suffrage was a pendant to the intention now dropped. Wise men like Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar recognise how hopelessly impractical it was, and prefer to return to the old method of dictatorial ukase, issued in the name of a popular idol.

The people's emotions are again to be exploited to win a victory for the congress Party, the Poona Pact episode is to be reenacted. The unfortunate history of that Pact, disowned by the only Community for which Mr. Gandhi could faily claim to speak, the Hindu, does not deter the Party hierarchy from using the some methods again. There is this difference.. The people of India have been forwarded. Short Mr. Gandhi decide once more to practise Civil disobedience, to court imprisonment by deliverately breaking the law, his motives will not be above question. India will recall Mr. C. Rajagopalachariars disclosure, and thinking men will ask themselves whether this latest manifestation of civil dis obedience is not a deliverate attempt not to cajole the Government or handicap authority but to intimidate a the ele[torn] into voting for the Congress. Organised Hindu[torn]es that the Poona Pact was the product of[torn]ism. The Hindu Community was forced in[torn]andhi's terms by his fast. And sin[torn]roba[torn] be followed by a h[torn]ger st[torn] protest that they, too, a[torn] a course which their judg[torn]

Are such tactics fair? We had hoped that the coming election was going to be a clear fight on the basis of known programmes. We now see that the Congress Party has jettisoned its programme perturbed perhaps at the opposition aroused by its socialistic character - "Our programme is truly Socialistic", says Mr. Gandhi - and extends to make its appeal to the emotions of rhe people . For Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar. His warnings about the fate of Mr. Gandhi will be eleborated and adopted. The fate of Mr. Gandhi will be made the principle election issue, throught a large part of the countryside, and the constituent assembly and the problems it was intended to solve find no place in election speeches. This may be politics, but it is not democracy. The prospects are that the Congress Party will go to the polls baffled to find any soltition of the communal question, disliked on actively opposed by the orthodox Hindus, envoided by the socialists", wrote The Manchester Guardian recently in an excellent survey of the Party's position. It is possibly to the rea[illegible]tion of its doubtful position that we [illegible]is revelation of what the Congress l[illegible]their sleeve.

WHY CONGRESS SEEKS A DICTATORSHIP.

12th July, 1934.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar will have to do much better than he has done in his letter, if he wishes to persuade to elctors that they should vote for the Congress Party and dictatorship. His letter is less an explanation of his remarkable Trichinopoly speech than an assertion that the Congress Party is the only partiotic party in India. It may please Mr. Rajagopalachariar to think this, it may suit his purpose to procopagate, the idea among the unthinking, but the mere making of a claim is not sufficient to convince intelligent men of its justice. According to Mr. Rajagopalchariar all who w remain outside the ranks of the Congress Party are trailors and ripe for consune. He refuses, for political and Party reasons obviously to recognise the good work done by the Assembly during the past forteen years. The substantial protection apponded to Indian industry, the social legislation, the laws passed to improve the position of workers, these and kindred activities are, in his eyes, valueless. No sensible man will agree with him. Since, however, no purpose is served in contending with wilfully blind let us le[illegible] him to his assertions.

Mr. Rajagopalachariar, like other [illegible] contends that he is the only Party with a [illegible] before the country. That programme, h[illegible] is contained inthe Karachi resolutio[illegible] [illegible] socialistic in character. [illegible] tude to its Soci[illegible] [illegible]e. "The Con[illegible] [illegible]sed by the [illegible] [illegible]or has [illegible]

the wrath of certain socialistic group on account of the declared policy of the Congress against the advacacy of class-war, confiscation and violence in order to achieve a just distribution of national wealth." If this means anything, it means that the Congress Party stands for a just distribution of national wealth", the principal slogan of socialists everywhere, The only difference between Mr. Rajagopalachariar and his Socialist fellow Congressmen is that they are not afraid to tell the people how they propose to obtain a just distribution of the national wealth" and he is.

We would ask Mr. "C.R." two questions What will Congress do with the dictatorship if they secure it? Is he prepared to go to the electors and say plainly that the Congress Party is opposed to Socialism? For the coming election should be fought on that issue. We do not know the intentions of other Parties, their programmes are their own concern, but we can conceive of better fighting ground than this.

WHAT INDIA NEEDS!
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23rd July, 1934.

When Mr. Satyamurthi says that legislators should be paid we fully agree with him. In this way the game of politics would be thrown open to a larger number of players, many of whom would be for better qualified than those who now indulge in it. Payment of members, too, might put an end to the practices which give rise to the remours of the existence of scales of fees unforced by legislators for asking a question in council. It is infinitely better that legislators should be paid out of the public funds, and encouraged to treat ~~x~~ all constituents alike than that they should sell their privileges to the few who can afford to pay their fees.

With Mr. Satyamurthi's other point that India needs a lusened class devoted to public life we are also in complete greement. Such a class would provide the much needed counter balance to such hotheads as demand the complete subversion of the social order, to Mr. Satyamurthis own socialist colleggues in the Congress Party, apparently Mr. Gandhi. Why do the rich men in this country keep apart from politics?. Mr. Satyamurthi ~~is~~ insist that they do so only until some prize in the form of high office comes to them. It is an unfair statement, for the congress [torn]rty itself can give many examples of big sacrif[torn] by rich men in furtherance of political ca[torn] Nevertheless it is trut that India's rich[torn] the sufficient part in politics. For th[torn] a dirty game.

How can they be attracted? There is only one way and that is by the development of an educated and instructed electorate. . . . . . The Congress Party manifesto is not an election programme. And we have Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar" virtual assurance that the Congress does not care whether its candidates attend the Assembly or not. He asks the electors to give him a blanck cheque and the most he offers in return is a nefulous constituent assembly and the rejection of the only constructive plan yet put forward for the reformation of the Indian constitution Mr. Bhulabbai Desai was the voters signature and unlimited liberty to dictate.

The other political parties have yet to put forward their programme. In the assembly members sit as Parties, if this collaboration is of any value the members of these parties should have a programme to present to the electors. . . The payment of members, the stabilising of the political element which it will give rise to, the entry of the leisened classes into politics, would make for Party stability and end fends.

THE BAN LIFTED.
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1st October, 1934.

Having unanimously elected the Rajah of Bobbili to the leadership of the Party, delegates to the Non-Brahmin Confederation proceeded to show their faith in the policy be advacated by removing the ban on the admission of Brahmins to the Party,. The resolution remaining the ban was adopted 'New Con", some disapprove it, but, have decided to give the new policy a trial. Their fears are a compliment to the caste they suspect. Brahmins, now among the imperrilled minorities, may flater themselves that despite their numerical inferiori they are feared by the great massm of their coreligionis This fear does not arise from their physical superiority, but the fear that "thry would monopolise all advantages when admitted into the Part". This tribute to their superior political accurmen should modify those Brahmins whose feelings were hurt by somes of the speeches delivered at the confederation. It cannot be said that there utterances were calculated to encourage applications. To be suspect, whatever one's intentions and acts, does not make for good fellowship, or mutual understanding.

Yet however ungraciously some of the Non-Brahmin delegates may have assented to the proposal to admit Brahmins into the Party, the decision to do so was wise and timely. As Sir A.P. Patro Pa[illegible] the lifting of the ban removes a stigma fr[illegible] Party. A further beneficial result is [illegible] made possible the development of th[illegible] great national political organisat[illegible] the constitutional Party, the co[illegible] India, conserving all that is b[illegible]

inheritance from the past, developing all that is certain to advance her interests in the future. Wisely led, it may yet become the meeting place of all classes and of all Communities. All we seek to promote peace and security, to develop in India progressive institutions on sound lines, and to safeguard the rights and privileges of the individual whatever his position or status, may be able to find in the justice party a place. It can, if rightly directed, fill that place which the Congress Party filled in its early years, before it was complained by political extremists and social theorists,,

India has need for a constitutional Party wedded to true democratic lines. Now that the Justice party has liberalised its constitution, it must proceed to develop its Party machinery. Speaking at the Tamil Nadu Congress conference, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar stressed the need for unity and discipline within the Congress ranks. Similarly the Rajah of Bobbili might well stress the need for unity and discipline within the ranks of the Justice party. The feasco at the Tanjore Confederation was the result of indiscipline. Personalities home played far too large a part in the party. They will continue to count, but the Party should come first, and loyalty to the party should be deemed higher merit than devotion to an individual.

The success of the confederation, "remarked ...h in his closing speech, "was entirely due ...rit of accomodation and cooperation ... all the delegates". So long as that spi... ...nes, the Party may face the futures

with confidence. . . . . The results of the m
elections should encourage leaders and followes
The Congress campaign has failed hopelessly, even in
Ellore, the straughold of Andhra Congressman. The nation,
it is clear, is tired of political experiments, of wild
cat schemes, and short ants which lead nowhere. It is
prepared to support any part wedded to constitutional
methods. This is the opportunity far the Justice Party.
It has made a timely change in its creed, it has robbed
its opponents of their chief weapon against it, and has
now but no hold firm to the true principles of democracy
to resist the templation to use its power in dictatorial
fashiom, and it will prosper.

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MR. SATYAMURTHI APPEALS TO YOUTH OF MADRAS.

6th October 1934.

A vehement attack on the Justice Party and its leaders was made by Mr. S. Satyamurthi in a speech at the Gokhale Hall Yesterday.

Appealing to the youth of Madras to support him in his fight for election to the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Satyamurthi asserted that the Congress had not abandoned the civil disobedience movement for all time, but had only suspended it.

Government servants, he said, need not fear that they would lose their job if they voted for Congress candidates. The Government would not interfere in the elections, and, anyhow, in two years time the Congress would be governing this Presidency.

Mrs. Lakshmipathy, who presided, said that appeals had already been made to the voters to exercise their franchise in favour of the Congress candidates. She hoped that the Congress ...ld have a majority in the legislative Assembly ... the Government date not then oppose the opinion ... Congress, because it represented the opinion ... people.

The Rajah of Bobbili, in his Presidential ...ss to the South Indian Liberal Confederation ...her day, had said that non-cooperation had led ...ruin of many innocent persons and their ... The Congress, said My. Satyamurthi might

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have ruined the careers of a few in order that the country might got freedom. Mr. Gandhi and his followes would make many sacrifices for freedom.

The speaker assured critics that the Congress would pursue peaceful and legitimate means for attainin swaraj for India. "The Congress declared Mr. Satyamurthi, had not given up civil disobedience for all time to come. The movement had been suspended only for a time. And if the Congress were to find that it could make no headway against the government, they would have to remise their programme, and it would then be likely that as Ministers, Congressman wou[illegible] be in [illegible]l as the guests of His Maje[illegible]sty. They [illegible]p fighting so lo[illegible]ng as a single Congre[illegible] [illegible]e countr[illegible] But not their artics, the[illegible] imagine that they are going to hunt for office [illegible] distribute patronage. They would, on the other [illegible] achieve swaraj for India by peaceful and legit[illegible] means, and to enable then to achieve that goa[illegible] people should ~~note~~ vote for congress nominiee[illegible] Assembly elections.

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GOVERNMENT AND CONGRESS CANDIDATES.

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9th October 1934.

Considerable consturnation has been caused in Congress circles in Madras by the reply of the Government of Madras to the request of Dr. Rajan that they should be pleased to remove any doubt concerning his little to stand for election to the Assembly by giving a ruling on the interpretation of such rule 2 of rule 5 of the Assembly Electoral Rules. This such rule provides that any pension who has been sentenced by a criminal court to imprisonment or transportation for more then are year shall unless his offence is pardoned, not ... elligible for election for five years from the ... e exporation of the sen... Dr. Rajan ... date of th... 1930 to one ... was sentenced in May ... imprisonment on one cou t and to ... months ... on another. A deubt was raised as to whether these sentences should be held to be cumulative for purposes of the Rule, though the Court decided that they should run concurrently.

The Government in their reply, have refused to give a decision. They say that the decision is one for the returning officer to make. Other Provincial Governments had adopted a like a attitude, and each can justify its action by affirming that it is not the business of the Government to facilitate the escape by Congress ...idates from the consequences of actions ...ere deliberately performed in defiance ... and intended to bring the Government into ... ridicule. None can fairly quarrel with

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any Government taking up that attitude. It may even be contended that the Congress Party has placed itself in its present dilemma by deliberately choosing for its. Candidates only those who have served a term in jail during the dis obedience campaign. Why should the Government enable the party to glorify these socalled "Martyrs"?.

Thereis no reason whatever why they should do som yet we fed that it would be gracious in the present instance to temper justice with mercy. The Government will lose nothing and gain greatly in the esteem of the people if they decide that the coming election contest should be a straight fight between able opponents. We would urge the Government to abandon its present position and to give a ~~luri~~ ruling which will end present doubtss.

CONGRESS TAKES THE LOT.

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20th November 1934.

All the eleven Madras non Muslim seats in the Assembly have been captured by the Congress Party. That is no mean achievement,. Yet it does not fully reveal the magnitude of the electoral landstide in favour of that Party. No fewer than four of its candidates obtained a majority of over 10,000 and in one case the majority reached 30,000 out of some 33,000 a votes last. In the Central Provinces and Assam the Contress triumph was not less complete, and it is probable that the Party will achieve equal success in Behar. Already the Congress has wonover 30 seats in the Assembly, and with the nationalist congressmen supporting them on all major political issues, it would seem that there will be no moderating influence in the Assembly, and that the fight between the Congress and the Government benches will be unremitting.

So complete a victory could not ~~xxxx~~ have been possible without comprehensive organisation, careful marshalling of forces, and continued emphasis on simple issues. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar interviewed today, called attention to the fact that 148, 215 votes had been recorded for the Congress Party in this Presidency, and only 31,538 voted against. "What does this huge majority represent? he ask. That is question which not even he can ... thfully . He believes it represents the ...'s faith in the Congress Party. Others

interest it as evidence of the voters disgust with their present representatives, while other regard it as merely proof of the law of the pendulum in politics and prophesy confidently that in a few years time the Congress Party will be beaten as decisively as it has won on this occasion.

All must agree that the Congress Party labo red and planned with excellent co-ordination. And its organisers simplified the issues before the electorate. "At the very outset, the Congress went to the polls with a manifesto and with the propaganda that clearly sought an answer from the electorate on the question whether they supported the Governments repressive policy and the Governments resistance to the demand for swaraj or whether they approved the claim of the Congress to represent the people and its demand for full Swaraj. says Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar. The history of elections shows that the simpler the issue, the more direct the appeal, the more impressionable are the electors. It is the slogan the wins every time. Speakers may expound policies, explain actions, or justify motives, but few of the electors remember their phrases. The Party wins wh... slogans are the most attractive. This is inevitable for few men have the time or the knowledge to assess correctly the value of political programms. For instance, much has been heard of the Ottacor Agreement during the past few weeks, but it is doubtful whether more than an infinitesional fraction of those who crowded round platform

understood what the words mean, or how that Agreement has affected India. If they had understood the result might have been different. The Congress triumphed partly because they had learnt more of the psycology of the masses than their opponents, but mainly because they had simplified the issues.

EXTRACT FROM THE "MADRAS MAIL".
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2nd January 1935. YET ANOTHER.
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Yet another political organisation has been added to the many that absorb the attention and the evergives of multitudes in this Country. The new organisation, which has adopted the pretensions title"The Indian National League", is one phase of the campaign to revive the teasophical society and is sponsored by Dr. G.S. Arundale, the Societys' President. It may, therefore, be fairly regarded as the lived successor of the Commonwealth of India League which the late Mrs. Annie Besant formed and supported through many years. The latter League died, as did so many of Mrs. Besants enterprises, through lack of popular support. Dr. Arundale has certain qualities which his predecessor lacked, his lighter platform manner does not make such serious demands on the intelligence of his hearers, and, as his speech inaugurating the League yesterday evening shows, he knows how to exploit the emotions of an audience. Yet we doubt if his new political effort will tripe.

Other considerations apart, is there any need for the new organisation? Its ostensible purposes are to work for the attainment of Swaraj for India and her admission to equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Indian National Liberal Federation has like objectives commands the services of distinguished sons and daughters of Indian and can claim to speak with some authority about the constitutional problems confronting India. The Justice Pa[...] the same aims, and has years of [...] experience behind it. That [...]

a cloud does not mean that its career is ended. On the contrary, the recent setback and the squables within its ranks may lead to such reorganisation of the Party machine as to make it more united, more representative of the popular will, and better able to service India in general and this Province in particular. The negotiations taking place between the Justice Democratic Party and the Justice Party point to ~~a~~ the early closing of a weekening breach.

There is, therefore apparent excused for its formation. The methods by which it hopes to attain its objectives, namely by framing a national Constitution for India, promoting solidarity among the various political parties, and educating and organising public opinion throughout the world in support of its aims, are not novel. Every existing political organization employs them. The difference between the new and the older organizations is that the latter have learned by experience that it is no easy matter to put into practice theories which sound extremely plansible when developmed on the platform. When Dr. Arundale talks of the whole world "he means the very small world comprised within the membership of his own organisation. It is doubtful whether he has had much contact with the less visionary elements outside that organisation. Similarly, when his followers speak, as some spoke at Tuesday's meeting, in the name of their respective

countries they speak without authority. They cannot claim to be representative. In every country there are those who pretend to speak in thename of their fellow countrymen but who never dream of ascertaining the latters opinions. The older political organizations to which we have alluded have long convassed public opinion, they have been in touch with the views of representatives of other nations, and they know that political unity is not easily won, and that constitutions made by experts such as the new league intends to employ, rarely command general acceptance. For Seven and half years the best brains of Britain and India have wrestled with the constitutional problems confronting this country, and have sought to find a compromise satisfactory to all. They have failed. The result of their labours does not please any one, yet Dr. Arundale talks airily of constitution making as if it were the simplest matter in the world.

India's present need is not a new political leagu, but a reduction in the member now, existing. Dr. Arundale said yesterday. "The new League has no quarrel with the existing political parties but desired to promote solidarity among them". He apparently sympathises with the Congress Party's view that all other parties should voluntarily merge themselves in the organisation. But few, if any Congressmen think this will happen, and many would deplore its accurance. For if Democracy i[illegible] succeed in India we must have two power[illegible]

so that whichever is in office there will always be a strong opposition to act as a restraint against excess. The existing parties may be safely left to perform to work outlined for the new League, and its organizers would be well admired to seek admission to which ever of them accords with their views rather than bringing into existence a movement which, however amiable its intentions, must increase present confusion.

"C.RAJAGOPALACHARIAR CALLS FOR A BOYCOTT"
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7th January 1935.

Indian Mill made yarn and cloth "Not in list of Pure Swadeshi".

Mr. C. Rajagopachariar(President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, Mannargudi) addressed a meeting yestersay in the Mannargudi Townhall urging the boycott of mill made yarn and mill made cloth. Mt. S.K. Mahalingam Pillai presided.

Mr. Rajagopalachariar, exporting the Mirasidars of Mannargudi to become congress members, said that by such a step they would make Government more contions in the matter of imposing additional taxation on the ryots. According to him, the idea of taxing the ryots, who were producers of food, was not only repugnant but demoralising, Mirasidars need not be afraid of joining the Congress.

Referring to Khadi, he said that no mistaken sympathy should urge them to include Indian mill made cloths in the list of pure Swadeshi.

He had received a memorial which revealed the said position of hundreds of handloom weavers. It was stated in that memoria that mill yarn which handloom weavers used for their looms, was sold to them at a great cost, and the millowners having sold the yarn at an increased price, manufacture the same [illegible]terns in their own mills and com[illegible]

with the handloom men in the market, offering low prices. That sort of competition, he said, ruined the handloom weavers. If they used handspun yarn there would be no such competition with the Khadi producers. There was no question of the one cheating the others.

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THE JUSTICE PARTY PROGRAMME.

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arch 1935.

It is satisfactory to see that the Justice , heartened by the result of the recent confidence on in the legislative council, is using its big , to further the chances of the Party's candidate f the city seat in the current by election. But we are not quite sure that the arguments employed at yesterday's meeting at the Victoria Public Hall were as helpful, to the candidate as they were meant to be Sir A.P. Patro maintained that it was clear that there could only be two parties, the constitutionalist party and the congress. The Rajah of Bobbili said that the Justice Party was the constitutional party which stood for acceptance of office and made no vote catching promises. But the businessof the rvening was, to catch notes, and, unless votes are captured, it is useless to show on amenable disposition towards the acceptance of office. The Party must fight and constitutionalism 'perse' is not a very attractive election cry, unless the opposing party has shown by its behaviour in office that it is unconstitutional. This has not so far happened in Madras, so that the electorate has had ooportunity of appreciating the full, dire effects of un constitutionalism. What the Justice party needs to remember is its full ~~little~~ title, and so be reminded that it is a liberal party. It must adduce both ~~prog-~~ performance and pro if it is to achieve popular success. Th seems to be appreciated by the Raja he yesterday outlived a most ambit

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including universal primary educatio[torn]
ten years. This is a bold bid for po[torn]
support. It was perhaps wise of him t[torn]
from an explanation of where the mone[torn]
found for this and the other scheme o[torn]
tected village water supply another ad[torn]ble
object in view of the fact that his pa[torn]y was
also said to be anscious to deprive the Govern-
ment of a large share of its principal source
of revenue.

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COMMUNALISM AND NATIONALISM.
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15th April 1935.

While Mr. Satyamurthi in Madras yesterday evening was suggesting that Army expenditure could be reduced on account of friendly relations with the trans-frontier tribes, it will be seen that the New Delhi Hindu Sabha at its annual meeting resolved that Provincial antonomy should not be granted to the North West Frontier Province in view of the rec nt disturbances in the tribal area. The proposition advanced by Bhai paramaund at the Hindu conference at Darjeeling betray a similar communal suspician. The only possible way of bringing about Hindu Muslim Unity, he said, was to unify and strengthen Hindus in such a way as to make it worthwhile for Muslims to unite with Hindus, and he denounced congress tactics in the Legislative Assembly in connexion with the communal award and the Karachi incident. It is nouse shutting ones eyes to these things and pretending that communal ill feeling does not exist or that it can be settled by a few round table discussions between persons howev r eminent and however representative. Nor, let it be said, does the communal award provide a solution of the communal problem. What it does provide is a means of adjusting political relationships be[illegible] th[illegible] communities so that neither can have any [illegible]ce against the other. In the absence of a[illegible] settlement, that is the most which co[illegible] for. The only doubt arises in co[illegible] growth of nationalism. Some of [illegible] award. They form a small moni[illegible] with those who c[illegible]ise it [illegible] gr[illegible]

of communal divisions. But if the growth of nationalism is not sufficiently strong to be upset, when the time comes a settlement so artificial as the communal award, it is a poor thing to rely upon and, it needs to be emphasised, an inadequate substitute forthose precautions which have so largely prevented disturbances in these past few days. Moreover, there are few nationalists working on the right lines. It is a deplorable thing that speakers who are presumed to be appealing for united constructive effort should be constrained to refer back, even apologetically to Jallianwallabagh. There is too much violence observable every day.

There is too much attention paid to politics,. It if the principles and methods which Mr. Gandhi introduced had been applied to social relationsships in the first place, the communal scene might have been vastly different today. Violence, is admittedly, primarily the method of the ignorant. Then the true nationalist must strive to spread enlightenment. But, as this is a vast, if not impossible, undertaking, he takes refuse in the easier political field. Mr. Gandhi rather late in the day, has realised his error. He has turned his attention, wholly as he claims, away from olitics and he has made a fresh start within e Hindu Community. It is not suggested his former followers should go and do ise, when at last they have attained

some perception of the usefulness, and, at the same time, of the limitations of the political field. But such incidents as have accured over the weekened should be a reminder to them that there is work which must be undertaken in the first place outside the legislatures and that the national consciousness which they must seek to arouse in something different from the national consciousness which they claim to rrepresent.

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CONGRESS POLICY IN MADRAS.

<u>13th May, 1935.</u>

From the statement of the new President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, it is clear that, in this Presidency, the programme of council entry is to be pressed on vigorously. "We are ready for the dissolution of the Madras Legislative Council", said Mr. Satyamurthi in an interview, "Whether it comes tomorrow a year hence". He expects that his party will sweep the polls, and "the Congress will than show its met…tle". If the Part… does inded sweep the polls, as it confidently expects, then it can "show its mettle". Only by the acceptance of office. This is the logical corollary. It has not yet been acknowledged by the Congress Party, wisely enough, inview of the divergences of opinion in their own camp, they have decided to meet each situation as it arises. But this uncertainty should not be allowed to continue too long. When the dissolution of the ~~xxxxxx~~ council comes the electorate will need to be informed exactly what the consequences of their votes for the congress candidates in the hope that they will … better governed or in the knowledge that, … majority of Congressmen is returned, …mpt will be made to prevent Government …ctioning at all. A not unfriendly critic … Satyamurthi the other day that he …wn ability with a passion for

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technicalities. But in the statement which he had now issued, he seems to have seized firm hold of the right idea, which is to win the election for his party. In the pursuit of this aim, he should find sufficient scope for the exercise of such, or so much, of his talents as can be spared from acting as infant terrible in the Legislative Assembly and putting forward the views of the ratepayers in Triplicane. We know froma recent statement that he is a no communism. Thēs would seem to be confirmed by his accumulation of enterprise; no convinced believer in a deadlevel of human equality could possible consent to participate in such a demonstration of the superior equipment and capacity of one political individual.

THE MEETING ENDS.
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18th October 1935.

The Madras meeting of the All India Congress Committee came to an end today, the members having completed the agenda. Those who have read the reports of its proceedings must have been impressed by the resumblance, to which we alluded earlier, betwean them and those of the average Legislature. Mr. Sardar Vallabhai Patel admitted that the Working Committee's resolution had been continously wonded, and indicated that the reason was that they were dealing with their own people in the Indian states, or with Princes, rather a damaging admission which others were not slow to notice.

It is, of course, inevitable that the Congress Party should be more extreme in its allusions to political and other public issues in British India than in Indian India. For the theme of almost every speech made by Congress leaders, notably those made by them, in Madras, is the exploitation of British India by a foreign, Government, and the consequent sufferings of her people. Obviously it would not do to lesson the emotional value of those speeches ... activities and propaganda indicating that ... subjects of the states enjoy ever fewer ...es, and have even less opportunity for ... administrative policy. So the ...ittee and the All India Committee

refuse to be drawn into any controversy concerning the States. The Congress Party, they say, sympatises with the aspirations of Statessubjects but the responsibility for carrying on the struggle for their satisfaction "must necessarily fall on the states people themselves". This tactful declaration of sympathy and non-copperation will satisfy the malcontents as little as the average government reply or, say, land revenue pleases those who rail against it.

The working Committee and the All India Congress Committee have alike found in the relative proscimity of the next Congress session an excuse for avoiding decisions on tickship issues. The Congress Session will decide this, as also the questi on of the future Congress policy in regard to the subjects of India states. The major issues having thus been shewed, as also judgement on the rival claims of Andradesha and Tamil Nad to the city of Madras, the Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee proceeded to justify their visit to Madras by setting internal disputes and party affairs. Bengal has been faithfully dealt with, discipline is to be enforced. In this and other ways the Congtess has shown the strength of its organisation. It has machinery which other parties must every.

The Chief value of the meetings i[illegible] is to be found in the opportunities t[illegible] propaganda. Congress leaders have l[illegible] to preach the Congress creed. Th[illegible] the fact that they are here on [illegible]

and they have laboured to further theirsparty's cause. And they have been given exceptional publicity. Thiscannot fail to stimulate public interest in their policy and programme. Madras may or may not be the Key Province in the future elections, but whether it is on not, Congress leaders are agreed that it is a Province to be cultivated. Hence the Presidents coming tour, the numorous speeches by visiting leaders, the eleborate arrangements made to ensure adequate publicity to the activities of each. Any Party contesting the Congress, bid for popular favour must organise with similar thoroughness. If democracy in India is not to degerate into dictatorship and in this connection a Congress leaders allusion to Hilter and other western dictators is significant. We m st have more than one great Party, well organised and anxious to serve the country. We do not under estimate the value of the achievements of the Justice Party, its record of the past fifteenyears, but while giving every credit for good workdone it must be admitted that its organisation still falls for short of the of its rival. The proceedings of the Congress Committe. I have shown that the Party has internal difficulties as acute and as trying as that of any other party. ... reason for such success as it has achieved ... arty lies as much in the dicipline it ... and the excellence if its organisation ... travagance of its propaganda.

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A NECESSARY EVIL.

25th November 1935.

A reason and not prejudice dictates the Congress Party's attitude towards acceptance of office, Mr. K. Bashyam's plea for local option indeciding this issue should succeed. For it is eminently sensible. Those who say the decision should be left to the Congress execution, or even to the next session of the Party, to formulate a decision on some abstract principle ignoring local conditions, are slaves of words and phrases. What Mr. Bashyam said about Government - "A stable Government however strong and powerful cannot for long neglect public opinion", is equally applicable to political parties. If the Congress execution does not give the Provinces selfgovernment in this matter they will take if it for themselves. The much is certain. In Madras, for instance, opinion is overwhelmingly in favour of the Congress taking office if it secures a majority at the next general election here. Mr. Bashyam says "We must recognise the acceptance of office as a necessary evil to be undertaken by the Congress, the other evil being the putting in power of a thoroughly reactionary party". We need not agreewith his description of his opponents to recognise the value of his pre[illegible] that for the Congress Party, in Madras at a[illegible]rate, acceptance of off[illegible]s a necessary evil.

If the Congress party do[illegible] a majority of seats in the next [illegible] towards acceptance of office is[illegible]

same to itself. But if the Party sincerely wishes to capture the Legislature, as its leaders affirm, then it must make its intention concerning acceptance of office known in time. It is not a matter which can be left to some post election date, for many electors will be influenced by the decision. We do not believe that the majority of electors favour destructive and obstructive measures and the legislature, such as the Congress Party must adopt if, having secured a majority, it decides to refuse to accept office. electors look for the fulfilment of promises, relief from taxation, assistance in reaping richer rewards for their labour, and the many other benefits promised by Congress speakers in this public utterances. Obstructive and destructive methods in the Legislature will not help them. By refusing to accept office the Congress Party would be deliberately betraying electors who, relying on their promises, returned them to the Legislatures. They willnot be satisfied by assertions that the new constitution is defective. They will ask what attempt has the congress made to utilise it in the fulfilment of its pledges. And no honest answer can be made to that question by those who have refused to accept office.

Mr. Bashyam has suggested the only course for the Congress Party to adopt

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To postpone a decision, as the All India Congress committee has donem does not help the Party. It hinders it by hampering the pre election activities of provincisl organization. "Therefore, which the All India Congress Committee may suggest to the Country the policy of non-cooperation and non acceptance of office, it must allow freedom to provinces". There is no sound alternative. The method of obstention has been tries and found wanting. its chances of success will be even fewer in the now constitution than in the present. And persistence in it will gravely interfere with the growth of democracy in this Province, and in Indian generally, by depriving the people of that choice of ministries which the democratic system is designed to afford. We have mo doubt that Mr. Bashyam's view represents that of the majority of Congress members in this Presidency. It is, therefore, their duty to accept no compromise on it, but to compel the party's headquarters to see the reasonableness of their view.

THE CONGRESS JUBILEE.

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28th December 1935.

Today the Indian National Congress celebrates its golden Jubilee. The manner of the celebration varies. In Calcutta, we are told by Mr. Har Dayal Nag, Congressmen are "Having this Jubillee without jubiliation". Of course they are wrong. A Jubilee is an ocassion for rejoicing. Madras and Bombayare might in regarding it as such, and celebrating it with music, processions, and excellent recitals of the growth and development of the party.

Stress has been laid today on the fact that in its earlier stages the Congress Party drew support and uncouragement from men of various races and munnunities. So long as the Congress was primarily a forum in which Indian problems were discussed, and remedies for India's ills sought, it continued to attract men and women of differing races, classes, and communitues. Of late years, however, there has been a narrowing of the scope of the Congress. It has become a political organization, having shed those social and cultural features which formarly distinguished it from organizations ...ed for purely political ends. The history ...he Congress is an impressive revelation

of the limiting influence of demonating ideas and personalities upon human organizations. Today the Congress is, as its present president admits a political organization, the most powerful one in India with branches extending from the Himalayas to cape comorin. Only the foolish would undertake estimate its power, or deny its influence or the popular mind. Its growth has been fastened by the care of devoted patriots, in whom, however much we may differ from thsi views, we must recognise a passionate devotion, to their Mother land.

Mr. Har Dayal Nag is apprehensive. "Our idea of Purna Swaraj", he says, "is threatened with destruction by the coming reforms". He realises that the coming into operation of the now constitution cannot fail to affect the Congress Party. Already there are signs of cleanage. There is more in common between the Liberal Party and the Congress constitutionalists than between the latter and the Congress Socialists. A cleanage is in evitable. The coming years will see the emergence of new political parties men and women who believe in working the constitution in the best interests of India will not be parties to policies that aim at wrecking the constitution or, by abstention from attendance at meetings for the Legislature disfranchising the people. There are many in the Co[illegible]ress Party, to day totally at [illegible] palance [illegible] of the Congress Socia[illegible]

[illegible] Congress fr[illegible]

the leading liberals were some fifteen years ago.

If, however, they should save the Congress for constitutionalism they may fairly claim to have kept it in the course planned by its founders. There were men of lay vision. They desires the constitutional advance of India, the happiness of her people, their freedom from subjection. They looked forward to the day the nearness of which now depends mainly on Indians ability to solve her own problems, to eliminate communal jealousies and suspicions and to elevate national above presonal interests when India would enjoy equality with the great dominions. They did not speak of independence? because like Mr. C. Vijayaragha-vachariar, they valued membership of the Empire more highly. Those who share their views are the right ful inheritons of the organisation they founded ban they make their inheritance secure? If they cannot, they will cease to be "national", and will become an instrument of revolution. The next few years will devide the fate of the Congress, the struggle for possession has already begun. The first pitched battle takes place in March next, and those who would see the Congress fight. For compromi[illegible] will [illegible]tal.

THE MAIL. Dt. 5-1-1936.

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CONGRESS DOES NOT MEAN BUSINESS.

In the political sphere while gradual radicalisation of the toiling masses is going on, a clarification of the nature of the nationalist movement is taking place," said Mr. K.N.Ramanna, presiding over the Second All India Press worker's conference, held this morning at the Gujarathi Mandal, Goerge Town.

"The class character of the struggle for political independence" he continued, "is becoming cleaner and a regrouping of class forces is proceeding. It is becoming more and more obvious that any organisation which professes to stand for all classes and everybody is, by its very nature, incompetent to conduct the nationalist struggle.

The congress by professing to stand for everybody's interests (is)? in sacrificing the interests of the weaker party- the exploited masses to the interests of the str(o)?anger party, the exploiters. Itsprogramme, its activities in the past and at present, the policy of its leaders, and its constitution are all opposed to the vital interests of the masses.

It is significant that during the past year, which was particularly noted for the rigorous rep[...]ssion of working class leaders and organisations, the c[...] [s]hould reject the Trade union gongress's demand [...] [c]eleberation of the Anti-Repression way.

It purchased loyalty by abandoni[...] [d]isobedience and is desperately maintaining[...] [b]ehaving like a "good boy" indulging i[...] [H]arijan campaign, rural reconstruction [...]

over defeats in the legislature.

Instead of trying to evolve means of resisting the slave owners constitution proposed to be thrust on India by Britain the Congress leaders are furiously discussing the question whether or not to accept office in thereformed constitution. Evidently, our congress worthies don't mean business at any rate not the business of winning independence for India."

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THE MAIL- Dt. 18-1-1936.

CONGRESS AND THE COMMUNAL AWARD.

Mr. S. Satyamurthim dealt with questions affecting the minorities in an address yesterday evening. He described communla representation in public bodies as twice cursed and urged members of the minority communities to play their part in the general electorates. Regarding communal representation in the services, he urged that the communal proportions should not be applied so as to affect promotion.

"Whether we belong to the majority or the the minority community, I appeal to you to cease to think, speak and act in terms of communities and to learn to think, speak and act in terms of the nation."

"If minorities are not willing to take their full share in the general electorate and still want some protection, I beg of them, as a sincere friend of the minorities, that, while pressing for and getting special reservation of seats, they ought to insist on two rights, namely that the members of their communities should be previleged to stand for general seats besides the reserved seats and secondly that they should have the opion to enrol themselves either on the m[illegible] roll or n the general roll."

The congress beleives that there og[illegible] commnal settlement in which communalism will [illegible]tle part nd nationalism an all-important part; bu[illegible] also ealises that this settlement can come on[illegible]

hearty consent and approval of all communities concerned The congress is out to earn the confidence and the affectiin and respect of all communities concerned, majority and minority. That is why the congress took the view that it can neither support nor reject the communal award."

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THE MAIL- Dt. 27-1-1936.

EXTENSION CONDEMNED.

The delegates to the Tamil Nad Conference of the congress party in their resolution on the extension of the Madras Legislative Council spoilt a good case by exaggeration. Had they been content with condemning the extension they would probably have had the greater part, if not t e whole, of the electroate with them. For there is general dissatisfaction with the prolongation of the life of the present council. It has outlived whatever mandate it possessed, and lacks vitality. Many of its members readily admit as much. They are as anxious for the coming election as any of the congress party. It may be constitutionally true that the extension of the franchise under the new constitution has no relation or connexion with the legislatures life." but t e fact is that owing to the shortsightedness of the India office, and its obstinate refusal to see that constitutional preparations take a long time, the present electroal lists are sadly out of date. It would take at least five months to bring them up to date, by which time the elections for the reformed Legislatures would be upon us. Had the India office listened to opinion in India four, three or two years ago, the present unsatisfactory p... would not have arisen.

To agree as we are prepared to agree that pe... circumstances of the situation ... u... the present consitution impossib... wi... further view that the present ... r... ts age and lack of touch with ...

is not justified in undertaking new legislation, especially legislation imposing radical changes in existing laws or imposing new taxation. The work of an affete and unrepresentative Legislature, kept alive because time and circumstances do not permit of its replacement by another more representative, should be confined to routine matters. It will have plenty to do it it passes the budget and keeps things going. All constructive measures should be left to a new House with a fresh mandate. Theu are some who argue that to prusue that course will mean the passing of worse measures than those now proposed. This betrays a gross distrust of the electorate, and of the responsibility of the new Legislature. It is unjustified criticism of Parliament and of the British policy which has placed the new Government of India Act on the statute book. We are prepared to take a more hopeful view and to believe that Parliament was justified, and that the future electorate will not show itself unmindful of its responsibilities. Therefore, while we deprecate the extravagance of the Tamil Nad resolution, and deplore the introduction of personal attacks in political party warefare, we fed that there is everything to be said for a general and frank

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THE MAIL- Dt. 13-4-1936.

MUSLIM URGED TO JOINT THE CONGRESS.

Resolutions protesting against the arrest of Mr. Subbas Chandra Bose, and appealing to the people to joint the congress in large numbers and carryout the constructive programme of the congress and to encourage swadeshi were adopted by the Madukulatore village Political conference held yesterday under the Presidentship of Moulana Mahaomed Sahib of Madura. In the course of his Presidential address Moulana Mahamoed Sahib said the relations between Muslims and Hindus, of Madukulatore and of the neighbouring villages were cordial. He appealed to the Muslims not to love any opportunity to serve the country's course. To rende service, he added, it was necessary for them to join t e congress. The recent elections to the legislat and local bodies had proved beyond doubt that the country as a whole stood by the congress. He hoped they would support the congress candidates in coming elections to the Ramnad District Board.

The conference requested the members of th Legislative council to support the Bill prepared b Mr. Rukmini Lakshmi Pathi to repeal the criminal Tribes act.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 14.4-1936.

CONGRESS POSTPONES DECISION.

The majority - 440-to 250 - by which the congress delegates in session at Lucknow passed the working committee's resolution postponing a decision on the question of the acceptance of office is the measure of the disagreement within the congress itself. It is significant that South India played an important part in securing the adoption of the resolution for there is little doubt that here the acceptance of office has passed beyond the state of indecision. South India favours working the new consitution for what it is worth, and congressmen from South India are too fully congnizant of the public mind to defy it. Yet we should not underestimate the importance of the opposing minority. It is too big, to be ignored; it is led by the President of the congress himself, and though in the chair he may maintain an atti of impartiality, it is certain that out of it he will throw all his influence on to the side which supports his publicity avowed view that congressmen should no accept office. It follows, therefore, that those w would see the congress party proceed on evolutionar lines must be inceasing in their endeavours to mai their endeavours to maintain their majority by rea argument based on sound policy. And above all t not allow themselves to tbe stampeded into a revo election programme in the hope that by accepting may induce some of theirpresent opponents to favo

acceptance of office. For we are convinced that the elections of South India will have nothing to do with revolution and have no love for Bolshevism, however much Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru may land it.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 22-4-1936.

OFFICE ACCEPTANCE?

Madras dlegates to the Lumcknow session of the Indian National congress addressed a public meeting last evenming at the congress House.

Mr. T. Prakasam. President of the A.P.C.C. said he was one of those who believes that a country or a people would be entitled to full freedom only when the people were throughly disciplined. At one time long ago, he had felt that it might not be possible for this country of many casts, and races to have the discipline which free nations had. But during the pst 16 years India progressed considerably indiscipline. The Lucknow congress was a great success. Its most remarkable feature was the triumph of the Gandhian principles.

Referring to office acceptance, Mr.Prakasanm asked, when they had accepted council entry, what wa good of saying they should not accept office? It suggested thqt they should go to the councils and ob What, asked Mr. Prakasam, was there to obstruct?

Let them look at the Madras Legislative co Probably, ~~Mr.s.~~ Mrs. Lakshmipathi was the only member congressites who even spoke. "The other fello not be even sitting ther felt all the same not only ou inside

the Ministers, whoever they might be, were sitting. It was not for the sake of emoluments or for honour or dignity that they ought to accept office. People talked of kisans-ryots, the new Viceroy alsoshoued his love for kisans. But how to lift the ryots was not an easy matter. They must give a straight fight on the high moral plane to their enemy and the enemy should be surrounded on all sides.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 7-5-1936.

CONGRESS DISCIPLINE.

The recent elections of a non congress member to the presidentship of the Vellore District Board has caused the working committee to dissolve the congress Party in the Vellore District Board and to call upon all congress members to resign their seats. In announcing this decision the President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee says." The public is aware of the indiscipline and betrayal which the congress suffered at the Presidential election. It is clear that at least 10 persons (elected on the congress ticket) did not support the candidate nominated by the congress. The congress cannot afford to tolerate such conduct." So the Committee called on all congress members of the district Board to risign and it speaks volumes for the discipline prevailing in the Party that already 17 have already tendered their resignations.

If Party discipline is to lie enforced the committee's action was inevitable. It may be possible to tolerate differences of opinion in a Party, such differences on any one subejct one enevitable in any political organisation but the deliberate flouting of a Party decision by voting against its chosen candidate is, as Mr. Satyamurthi rightly says, intolerable. If tolerated, it would mean the end of all discripline, of al[illegible] concerted action by the Party, and its conversion from a [illegible]it into a congress of groups each working for their own e[illegible]. Personalities have nothigg to do with the issue, [illegible] one of Party discipline. If the ten congres[illegible]

voted for the non-gongress candidate believed, as doubtless they did, that he was the better candidate for the chair, they should have either tried to persuade the congress party to accept their view, or have resigned from the Party. When we have discipline in our political parties, whatever their policies, we are likely to get consistency and understandable platforms.

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THE MAIL. Dt. 11-5-1936.

ARREST OF MR. SUBBAS BOSE.

Protests against the arrest and detention of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, were made by several speakers at a public meeting held yesterday in response to the congress President's appeal to observe "Subhas Bose day " on May 10.

The meeting adopted a resolution criticising the Government's action in arresting and keeping under detention without trial Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. The same meeting adopted a condolence resolution on the death of Dr. M.A. Ansari.

Subhas Bose Day was observed throughout the city and a large procession started in theevening from the congress House to Triplicane Beach where the meeting was held under the presidenship of Mr. S.Satyamurthi, President T.N,C.C. Mr. Satyamurthi said that Mr. Bose had been incarcerated for a number of years and had spent most of his life in the service of India. Immediately he landed in Bombay, he was arrested under Regulation III of 1818 by the Government without bringing any definite charge against him. Mr. K. Bashyam Ayyangar protested against Mr. Subhas Boses arrest. He moved a res[illegible]on in Tamil, protesting against the suppression of [illegible]dual and civil libertys mentioning the number of occa[illegible] on which the Press Act was enforced and other cons[illegible]s.

Mr. Ramdas Pantulu spoke about the [illegible] Mr. Bose and said that the urge for natio[illegible] Mr. Gandhi's call to resign from the I.[illegible]

Mr. Bose into the field of public service, where he had won the esteem of the people as a genuine patriot.

Several other speaker including Me.K.Santhanam, V.Chakkarai Chettiar and Adikesavalu Naicker, Mr. T. Prakasam said that when they were all expecting Mr. Subba to join them in the Lucknow congress, they were shocked to hear that he had been seperated from them by the Prison has at Bombay.

The Bose day was observed at various places in the Madras Presidency. Public meetings were held and resolutions condemning the government'ts action in detaining Mr. Bose were passed.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 16-5-1936.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

The formation of the people's party, officially announced in a manifesto published today, is a matter of considerable importance to the Presidency. This new party is the outcome of a conviction in the minds of many thoughtful citizens that there is a great necessity for a well-organised constitutional party which will make legitimate efforts to improve it, while working it with the object of obtaining the maximum benefit out of it. Men are coming to realise more clearly that India's political future is not to be won merely by five phrases; and that it depends on the capacity of her people themselves to face difficulties and dispose of them". This passage from the Montford report is as true today as when it was written.

The formation of the people's Party may be regarded as the first fruit of the c hange brought about by the stability inherent in the new constitution. This party comes into existence as a produce of the times. It is proff that thinking citizens are desirous of securing equable and impartial government. The activities of the older Parties are conditioned b[illegible]ir past professions and present associations. Many i[illegible]ngress Party are disturbed at the emergence o[illegible]alist leftwing. at its presence in the Executi[illegible] Not even Pundit Nehru's most emphatic den[illegible]tion t[illegible] use his position as President of the c[illegible] [illegible]rther the progress of socialism in Ind[illegible] [illegible]nxiety. The congress Party majorit[illegible]

to the uneasiness which is causing men and women to loo[k] for a third, a constitutional Party, which while eschewi[ng] extremism and communsim will labour along constitutional lines for the progress of India, the preservation of all that is worthy in the social system, and the happiness and prosperity of the masses. The newPeople's Party claims to fulfil this need for a progressive constitution[al] Party. It starts with a clean slate. Kt is not hampe[red] by communalism. This should prove an advantage over the Justice Party. Realising the need for a Party which shall unite all constitutionlist we shall await with interest its election proposals.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 2-6-1936.

THE JUSTICE PARTY AND BRAHMINS.

About three years ago the Justice Party at a large convenbion in Madras passed with applause a resolution opening its membership to Brahmins. Brahmins were present at the meeting at which the change was commanded to delegates by the leaders of the Party, and the proposal was approved by representatives of various casts and communities. Now, three years later, we find Justice Party spokesman, assembled to devise ways and means of strengthening the Party, speaking as though the resolution had never been passed, directing their appeal solely to non-Brahmins, and pronouncing Brahmins to be the enemies of non-Brahmins. It is almost disappointing for we had hoped that the Justice Party, purging itself on its narrow communalism, would become the effective voice of all those who cannot accept the congress political creed, with its many drastic proposals, and would thus constitute a powerful counter to the impetus to extremism. There is room, and need, for a powerful constitutionalist party in this Presidency, a Party, no matter what its name that can claim the loyalty and support of men of conservative and liberal views of whom many are to be found in e community. But unless these spokesmen are misleading their hearers, the Justice Party cann that purpose. It is a great pity.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 6-6-1936.

THE JUSTICE PARTY AND THE CONGRESS.

(Politicians claiming to speak for the Justice Party have lately made some amuzing statements. During the past week at a mofussil meeting leading campaigners for the party avowed the Party's readiness to submerge itself in the congress Party if certain relatively unimportant conditions were fulfilled.) And yesterday no less a person that Dr. C. Natesan, one of the leading members of the Justice Party in the Legislature and one of its recognised spokesman, declared that "the Justice Party would be willing to join the congress if congressmen would give an undertaking to stand by the accepted principle of communal representation in government services for 20 years". It is incredible that such a statement could have been made without faull realisation by the speaker of the importance of his utterance.

What doesit imply? It implies that the Justice Party is concerned mainly with securing jobs for members of certain communities and with preventing another community from obtaining those jobs. It is a confessio[n] if true that the Party lacks those high principles with[out] which it can achieve nothing, that the absence of an[y] published Party programme is due to the fact that i[t] one sole purpose. We refust to beleive this to b[e] or to agree that the millions who have hitherto ac[cepted] the leadership of the Party, and still accept it, [have] no concern whatever for the prosperity of the Pro[vince] the happiness and well being of its people. We [...] that the facility with which leading members of [the] Justice Party have lately changed their allegi[ance]

the Justice to the congress Party would seem to justify Dr. Natesan's estimate of its principles,but we prefer to beleive better of it until other of its leaders confirm his statement. If they do, then the need for a new constitutional Party is demonstrated beyond question. For we must have an effective opposition if democracy is to function properly in the Province.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 12-6-1930.

JUSTICE PARTY'S ACHIEVEMENTS.

"All of you are aware of the ideals for which the congress stands, and the ambitiious programmes of its President, it is enough if I point out the implications of socialism and communism in their application to our country. If a pòlitical party were to start only with the twin ideals of Socialism and communism, I for one, and the Justice Party as such, must take leave to fight tooth and nail the congress and its extremes programme," so said Mr. P.T. Rajan, in an address today, when he inaugurated the campaign of the Justice Party.

Referring to present day problems, he said, "While I recognise the great services of Mr. Gandhi in the direction of rousing mass consciousness in India, I am constrained to remark that he is not so well fitted to solve the political and other problems that our country is faced with today.

On the new constitution he said it was his partiem
conviction that there should be two political which
to avoid the risk of the formation of groups cy. In case
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of his speech he observed that in the last ... rou
Party with the able guidance of its leaders
to the forefront the benefits after the refor
Party's contribution was the Indianisation of
the revival of the indigenous system of medic
medical relief, the development of village c
extension of elementary education, sanitation a
supply, better management of Hindu Religious En
and state aid to industries, the problem of d

and state aid to industries, the problem of Depressed on the better relationship between caste Hindu and the Depressed classes.

In spite of these achievements, the party met with a reverse in the general elections of 1926, mainly due to the false and mischievous propaganda of its opponents, that the Hindu Religion was in danger on account of the enactment of the H.R.E. Act.

While I recognise the great services of Mr. Gandhi in the direction of rousing mass consciousness in India, I am c onstrained to remark that he is not so well fitted to solve the political and other problems that our country is faced to with today. Heis an idealist and the country wants men of action.

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THE MAIL- DT? 29-6-1936.

A CHANGE FOR THE WISE.

The time for talk of wrecking the reforms is past. This is the opinion of H.E. Sir K.V. Reddi Nayudi, whose views are entitled to respect. For he speaks with the authority of one who has worked the Montford Reforms and found them more fuitful than was anticipated. 2When dyarchy was introduced... people said the same things as they are saying today, and yet, at least in this Province- and Credit is due to the people of this Province- the defects that were expected to arise... never arose and today. we find that thse reforms have worked fairly well." Like many others, His Excellency thinks that history will repeat itself, that 5 years hence some one will say of the new Act, that it has worked fairly well." For my own part, he said at Coimbatore on Saturday, ,"I have always held that whatever may be the safeguards and the restrictions, it will depend upon the Ministers whom we chose. If your Ministers are wise, if they are really statesmen, control will be in their hands, and no governor will find it easy, at any time, to use the various powers entrusted to him." The 1919 Reforms Act provided many safeguards but their employment has been relatively ra[illegible] And in practically every case their use has bee[illegible] by a politcal gesture. Where the wish of the [illegible] a whole has been plainly and unmistakably dem[illegible] the Government have deferred to their wish.

"I am perfectly certain that these ne[illegible] are a great advance over the othrs. Given [illegible] by the Ministers, I am perfectly certain th[illegible]

prosperityand happiness are before us." The condition is important. If Ministers act foolishly the Reforms cannot fulfil their promise. CanMadras produce the Ministers capable of taking full advantage of the opportunities offered by the new constitution, using them for the benefit of the people and the advancement of the Province? However if, the Ministers are obsessed with the idea that their main purpose is to wreck the constitution then they will not merely compel the employment of the safeguards, but they will deprive the people of that attention and that service to which they are entitled. In whatever shape the constitution we recast, there are certain to be safeguards.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 3-7-1936.

HINDI IN SCHOOLS.

The Madras Government's order about the teaching of Hindi in schools should clear the confusion about the place of that language in the educational system. The more enthusiastic supporters of Hindi want preference to be given to it over all other languages taught in elementary as well as secondary schools in this province. Such a step would be detrimental to the study of the indigenous languages of South India. The government recognising the demand for the teaching of Hindi permit, subject to certain conditions, the opening of Hindi classes in schools. This is a matter on which the advocates of Hindi might contratulate themselves. But the Government order rightly gives priority to indigenous languages Hindi is a new comer to this Presidency and is by no means well established. Its propagation is one phase of a political movement and political feeling is found to interfere with the scientific and critical study which any subject included in a course of edu ation requires. That apart, Hindi is a useful language which will repay study, but whatever its usefulness, Hindi cannot serve the purpose of a local vernacular. The mother tongue is the first and mos[illegible] natural instrument of mind training. It gives children p[illegible]ractice and clear and exact thinking and expression, thereby [illegible]urnishing the foundation for the study of a foreign languages.

The system of education in India [illegible] must continue to be bilingualm employing a fore[illegible] for the communication of knowledge which lie[illegible]

vernaculars and cultivating the vernaculars so as to render them capable of disseminating such knowledge to the masses. The foreign language is necessary also to promote inter Provincial and inter-national commerce, on which the welfare of the country largely depends. The purpose of a foreign language cannot thus be served by a local language. Hindi then can only be an optional subject in the schools in Madras. That is the position assigned to it by the order so placed, the study of the language can be developed and encouraged without giving room for the complaint that Hindi is encroaching upon other useful and necessary students and that its champions are endeavouring to subordinate South Indian languages to it.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 8-7-1936.

CONGRESS MUST ACCEPT OFFICE.

"If congressmen are returned in a majority, we must grasp the nettle of Ministerial offices under the constitution. Nobdoy suggests- I certainly do no- that this acceptance of office is the royal road to Swaraj. I know of no such royal roads. I honestly and sincerely beleive that acceptance of office by congressmen with a very disciplined party and with a definite programme, will hasten theadvent of Swaraj, and will certainly hasten the day when this unwanted constitution must and will be replaced by a popular constitution, based on Purmna Swaraj." So declared Mr. S.Satyamurthi President of the T.N.C.C. at Tirumangalam in the Madura District today at a political conference.

Referring to the Justice Party he referred to it as a danger and added "I do feel that the party has stood in the way of the country's progress. It stands to destroy the congress in this Province, if it can so, if by any mistake on our part that Party be again installed in office, Madras will be on the royla road, not to Swaraj, but to become the ulster of India."

"But I honestly and sincerel[illegible] Swaraj is the only soveriegn remedy for a[illegible] I agree with Pundit Nehru that once India obtain[illegible] Swaraj it will be open to the people of India to [illegible] hei[illegible] forms of political and economic society. [illegible] hope it will not be fazcism on Russia Sov[illegible]

I am still of the firm beleif th[illegible] elected seats in all elected bodies from th[illegible]

I am still of the firm beleif that all elected seats in all elected bodies from the village Panchayats right up to the council of State must be captured by the Congress."

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THE MAIL, Dt. 13-7-1936.

A FIGHTING SPEECH.

To Mr. P.T. Rajan belongs the credit of lifting the Justice Party's election campaign from the obscruity in which it had long rested. If the Justice Party, or any other Party, becomes as active as the congress Party it will certainly attract attention and secure publicity. Nothing could be more harmful to democracry than the unopposed or inadequately contested, triumph of any one Party in the coming elections. We are anxious that whatever Party wins there should also be an affective opposition in the Provincial Legislature.

The revival of Justice Party activity is, therefore, to be welcomed as promising that, unless anything unforeseen occurs, thereshall be an effective opposition in the local legislature, whichever Party secures, the majority of seats. From the tactical point of view the revival is wisely timid. Mr. Satyamurthi, the congress Party's chief compaginer in this Province, hasgone to Simla, and is likely to be away to weeks or more. The electors who cheered him yesterday may cheer his adversary tomorrow and ground won by weeks of hard campaigning may belost in an tour. The Justice Party may be trusted to make the most of the absence of the President of the Tamil Nad congressParty. Mr. Rajan's fighting speech in reply to Mr. Satyamurthi is in the best electioneering style. It picks out the weak spots in his adversary's spee[illegible] and deals with them with destrictive effect. Mr[illegible] claim with justification that the Justi[illegible] [illegible]ty [illegible] the past 15 years, "demonstrated clearly tha[illegible] are [illegible]pable adminsstrators."

Like many others in thsi Presidency, Mr. P.T.Rajan would welcome the acceptance of office by the congress Party. He says that his Party would welcome it too "because it will then become patent to the public that their grand promises are, after all, mere talk and that they cannot achieve half as much as we have done." Others would like to see the congress Party accept office because they feel that a period of responsibility will do it good, correcting many false ideas of what is desirable and possib "Honesty would require that they (the congress) should inform the electorate of their willingess to work the consitution by accepting responsibility." Mr. Rajan challen The history of the past 15 years shows that wrecking is not popular with electors.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 25-7-1936.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

This morning the much heralded People's Party held its first meeting in Madras and elected its office bearers. This evening the public inauguration of the Party took place at the Victoria Hall with the Maharaja of Pithapuram, the Party leader, in the chair. This Party appears with a complete constitution, a statement of objects, and an explanatory programme. Its changes of survival seem brighter than those of most of its predecessors. In their speeches this evening claimed that the new Party had been brought into existence to meet the demand of those who are dissatisfied with the two existing parties, the congress and the Justice Party. The founders of the Party claim that it has come into existence as a result of a popular demand. Time alone can prove the wrong. The period of waithing is not long, for its constitution provides that the Party shall contest elections, and the approaching Madras City Council elections, as well as the general elections for the Provincial Legislature, to take place in February next will give the Party an apportunity to justify its claim. The people's party is a cons party. It proposes, if given the opportunity, the new constitution to get the maximum benefi it and get it amended or replaced by one that India full democratic self government. It the fundamental rightsa of the people, and goodwill and fellowship among the various in India, and secure justice to all cla consistent with the paramount national inter does it mean? There may be a conflict betw of a community and the paramount national inte

strict justice aannot produce such a conflict.

The party proposes to reduce Land Revenue and other taxation, it heopes to reduce the cost of the administrati However, it is probable that the programme is only a tentative one, that it will undergo modification before being finally adopted by the newly constituted party. Its appearance at the critical time in the history of our Province appeals to the progressive constitutionalist, it is unhampered by past traditions is mistakes. To many this will prove a great attraction.

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of those present from taking away a firm

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E MAIL- Dt. 24-10-1936.

THE CHIEF MINISTER'S SPEECH.

When the Raja of Bobbili, as in his speech at Marad attacks the communisticе and socialistic doctrines of the President of the Congress Party and at the same time claims the Inams Bill to be the outstanding achievement of his own party he fails to carry conviction. For the Inams Bill is in the true communist traditions. The claim may be dismissed as so much election propaganda, chalenging in its excess anything his rivals have produced. A constitutional Party is not helped by exaggeration. Its claims to popular support do not rest upon the Inams Bill. In origin, the Party was the concrete manifestation of a revolt against the domination of a community. Therefore, their leader did well to remind them that the Party stands for the "principle that no citizen should suffer any disability by reason of his birth." The party may rightly claim that it has served the depressed and backward classes, it must continually resist the temptation of victimising those it has overthrown. The Party's claim to support rests upon its determination to proceed along tried constituional paths, to refust to be beguiled into revolutionary caourses. Unfortunately, his speech gives the impression that its choice of pat has been determined by the futility of choosing other We do not think he intend to give the impression, b his insistence on the force and effectiveness of t constitutional safeguards in preventing the succ revolutionary methods conveys it, neverthelese whole there is too much of looking back and looking forward in the Chief Minister's spee Ministerial utterances of late. The elec

few months will want to know not the Justice Barty has done but what it proposes to do. Talk about past achievements, long narratives of things done, divorced from evidence of the results- will not weight with him. This Presidency as he has said, has always given a lead to other Provinces in political wisdeom. The electors ask for facts, for pledges, for statements of policy and they judge for themselves. In the contest it has declared its intention of obtaining the utmost advantage for the people out of the new constitution. Let its leaders show how it proposes to act and they may carry conviction to many waver

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THE MAIL- Dt. 19-3-1937.

THE A.I.C.C. DECISION.

(By an overwhelming majority the All India congress committee has voted in favour of the acceptance of office. It now remains for the conventions of congress Legislators to endorse that decision and the way will be cleared for the form tion of Congress Ministries in those Provinces in which the congress Party has a majority in the Legislature. One of the most important conditions for accepting office is that requiring the leading of the congress Party in a Provincial Legislature to be "satisfied, and able to state publically that the governor will not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of the Ministers in regard to their constitutional activities.")

What will happen if the assurances sought are refused. Mr. Rajagoapalachariar makes a very guarded reply. He says Provincial leaders will go back to the All India committee and say what has happened and presumably await further instructions. It is pl but fruitless to speculate on what those instruction be. Some speakers in the committee suggested a r of direct action of Satyagraha on a large scale. however, whether many congress leaders really bel the country is prepared for this. The improvi conditions are opposed to it. They know, too will always be found some ready to accept offi seek supporters by measures appealing to the electorate. For the alternative to acept office employment of constitutional methods is revolution no nice choice of words can hide the fact. In vo acceptance of office, the All India committee

against revolution, against direct action, and the attempt to set up a rival authority to government. The tightening of the congress hierarchy's control over Provincial branches of the Party is not the setting up of a rival government, but the attempt to introduce into India, where Provincial autonomy is now being born a highly centralised political control based on fascist principle. We do not believe that that attempt can, in the peculiar circumstances of India, succeeds, and in that fact lies one of the principle grounds for believing that the coming of congress ministries in the Provinces will be unaccompani

~~by any increase of congress ministries in the Provinces will be~~
by any increase of centralised control.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 30-3-1937.

THE NEW MINISTRY.

The refusal of the congress party and of Liberal leaders to accept office has brought into existence a ministry mainly composed of members of the Justice Party. It is not, as the Kumararaja M.A. Muthia Chettiar of Chettinad, one of its members, is careful to explain a Justice Party Ministry, but his Justice Party members have been permitted by the Party to accept office. This is a nice butx a necessary distinction, since the absence of the leader of the Justice Party from the Cabinet obviously denies it the Party labbl. It is a composite Ministry. Its six members comprise a Muslim, a schenduled caste representative, a christian, and three non-Brahmins. The north, South, East, West of the Presidency are represented in it.

Thus it can claim to be representative in a sense, though not representative of the largest party in the Legislature. It assumes office at an exceedingly difficult time and under the most advice circumst Its existence is imperilled, many contend that warrant is already signed. It is therefore to sympathy. The very appointment of this has been challenged. It has been asserted governor has no right to appoint it under t of his Instrument of Instruction. But the thus overlook the qualifying words of sec Instrument which declare that in making his council of ministers the governor sh endeavours to select his Ministers in the person who in his judgment is mos

a stable majority in the Legislature. We do not think that any one who has followed the incidents of the past few days can honestly declare that the governor did not sincerely use his best endeavours to select his Ministers in consultation with the leader of the largest party in the Legislature. He did so, andonly when he failed did he turn to others. Had others refused to form a Ministry, then section 93-A with its provisions to meet emergencies, would have come into operation. But tohave employed it until all other alterations had been tried would have laid any governor doing so open to grave changes of wilfully thwarting the purpose of Parliament.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 2-4-1937.

HARTAL, TO PROTEST AGAINST NEW CONSTITUTION.

Peaceful observance throughout country.

Hartal, to protest against the coming into force of the new Indian constitution, and the commencement of Provincial autonomy was deserved throughout the country yesterday. Generally the day passed off peacefully, only in two or three places were there arrests.

The closing of business places, meetings and processions were features of the Hartal, resolutions were passed at the meetings condemning the new constituion.

The Anti constitution day demonstrations in Madras city concluded yesterday evening with a public meeting held on the Triplicane beach at which the resolution formulated by the All India National convention, condemning the new India Act, was read and adopted.

Processions of Khaddar clad volunteers, wearing
varrying the tricoloured congress flag followed by large number of members of the public from different parts of the city arrived at Congress House Royapettah early afternoon and from there the whole procession headed by Mayor and other councillors marched to the ch. similar procession and meetings of p in the mofussil.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 4.5.1937.

INTERIM MINISTRY REPUDIATED.

One hundred and sixty seven of the 215 members of the Madras Legislative Assembly and 30 of the 54 members of the council have signed a communication expressing want of confidence in and denouncing tne Ministry now functioning in this Presidency. The signatories, it is stated in the communication forwarded to H.E. the Governor, "have taken this step of submitting their opinion in writing, as a meeting of the Legislature has not been summoned by His Excellency." The communication is important for two things. It reveals the st ength of the opposition to the present Ministry- an opposition greater in numbers that the numerical strength of the congress Party- and also the fate awaiting the Ministry when it confronts the Legislature. Anticipations of a break up of the congress majority show no signs of being fulfilled. The revelations of the Palat-shetty correspondence- questionable as its publication in the circumstances is- prove the discipline prevailing in the congr ss Party, while the results of the Malabar District Board election shows that the Party's refusal of office has not, so far, lost it any apparent measure of public support. On the contrary, the fact that so many of the Party candidates were elected to the Board unopposed indicates that organised opposition to the Party has almost wholly, if not completely, collapsed.

Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar, in a commun[illegible] issued today says: "The more on thinks of [illegible] marvellous it seems have Parliamentary le[illegible] Britain could tolerate the Ministries se[illegible] [illegible] Provinces of Madras, Bombay, Biha[illegible] i[illegible]

in the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, Bihar, Orissa, Central snd united Provin es- two thirds of the British India." But the fact remains that those Parliamentary leaders declare that inview of the refusal of the majority to accept office, the appointment of these Ministries was inevitable. What good purpose is served by further discussions about their point of view? These Ministers cannot endure. At most their existence, unless something unforeseen occurs cannot last long than six months. It would be more profitable to discess what is to happen when the council does not, and the expected vote of no confidence in the Ministry is passed. We fancy the public is getting a little weary of these disputations on the interpretation of xxxxxxxx sections of the Act. What do these 197 Legislators propose to do when they have, as they doubtless intend, thrown the present Ministry out of office? Are they going to insistxhthat the majority party takes office and produces those measures for which the average votes is looking? Or are they going to cxxx support indulgence in profitless disputators? As we have remarked before, the gulf between the views of the congress party and H.M's government on this question of interference is so narrow that it could be nossed i a step. And whoever takes that step will prove the bigger man in the true sense of the word. Having denounced and repudiated, is it not now the duty of these 197 legislators to go on and bridge the gulf, -ringing to an end this fruitless controversy on extensions t interpretations?

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THE MAIL- Dt. 8-7-1937.

A WELCOME DECISION.

Sir K.V.Reddi, the Chief Minister, told Press repre[...]tatives at ootacamund today that he and his cabinet would resign immediately on the acceptance of office by the congress majority in the Madras Legislature. They would not wait until the meeting of the Legislature. This is a welcome decision and in keeping with the statements made from time to time by Sir K.V.Reddi and his fellow Ministers during the past three months. They have shown no disposition to cling to office once the majority Party had decided to accept office.

That decision has been cordially welcomed by the Press throughout India and great Britain. Every sincere friend of India has approved it as being in the best interests of the country. There is no dissentiment voice. In Parliament, conservatives, Liberals, and Labour unite in welcoming the working committee's resolution. Mr. Gandhi receives the tributes that are due to his great ability to resolve differencesof opinion and ~~achieve differences of opinion and~~ achieve a compromise satisfactory to all. The congress party may not have obtained the assurance it required in so many words, but it has secured so many words, but it has secured so many explanations of the purpose and spirit of the government of India Act, and of Par[...]t's intention in passing it, that neither its [...] nor the Provincial Governors with whom they [...] under any misapprehensions concerning its s[...] possibilities, its limitations and the p[...] on Ministers and governors alike.

The working committee's resolution demonstrates that the congress hierarchy is not insensible to public opinion. The resolution declares that the committee have been driven to their conclusion on the acceptance of office by the general desire of the public. This manifestation of a responsiveness to public opinion will strengthen the position of the congress in the Provinces. Any other decision would have alienated public sympathy and lost the Party the support of the electorate. Now the way is cleared for action. The party has a big programme of amelioratiive proposals. It plans to help the masses, to lessen their difficulties, and improve their environment. These things cannot be done in a day. They require careful planning, long preparation. If the party would see them through it must consolidate its position in office, and refrain from tactics that make continuance therein impossible.

Mr. Gandhi has said that the Party will not wilfully seek to create deadlocks to the Provinces. We believe him. To do so would be destroy the Party's hopes of serving the people. That purpose transcends all others in its programme, and will doubtless govern its administrative methods. It remains for the executive to give the Party every possible assistance, to place no difficulties in its way, to look with sympathy upon its measures even where it may disapprove its methods. We do not doubt that would Eskine will give the congress ministers every assistance in his power, He will not, because he cannot, absolve himself of his special responsibilities, but he will seek to promote understanding and harmony, and will refrain from any course calculated to increase the difficulties with which the new Ministry will inevitably be faced, difficulties arising as much from the complex character of its suppo~~in the~~

in the Legislatures as from its unfamiliarity with task it is undertaking.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 14-7-1937.

THE CONGRESS CABINET.

Today the new congress cabinet assumed office. In doing so it made history. For over fifty years the congress party has been in popposition. "It has been a body of critics without experience of the actual difficulties." In the role of critic it has revealed marked ability in marshalling its facts and organising its forces. Through disciplined action no party in India is so effectively disciplined- it has achieved considerable success. In the last general election it triumphed amazingly, and in doing so incurred the obligations it has now, after many weeks of hesitation selfquestioning and exploratory protestations, decided to shoulder . And never did a Party undertake ministerial responsibilities with a greater volume of good wishes. It is difficult , if possible to find a disapproving note in the volume of comment with which the congress Party's decision to accept office was greeted. Nor do its severest critics under estimate the extreme significance of that decision. A agree that the congress leaders in every Presidency h undertaken a cololossal task. Years of agit tion h roused great expectations in the Party's s And the masses do not always discriminate t at take decades, possibly generations what is immediately practicable. In o the expectations of the masses are great, reasonable folk, and while awaiting the fulfil promises, will nit unjustly complain when ur circumstances compel delay. The people have always shown a capacity for infini long as the congress Ministry gives e

so long as the congress Ministry gives earnest of the sincerity of its intentions to fulfil its pledges by constructive activities, they will not complain.

Mr. C.Rajagoapalachariar has faith in his colleague "I believe,' he said this morning, "I have given to the people of our Province a good set of workders in the shape of the climate both in them and in their secretaries you have honest, hardworking, patriotic men." No one can fairly ask for more. They are, for the most part, men who have been working members of the Party to which they belong . To those who regard them with less bias than this leader they appear a mixed lot. But this need not necessarily be a disadvantage. The wisdom and experience of older members linked to the vigour and enterprise the younger may give as a cabinet more vigorous more enterprising and less fearful than any we have had in the past.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 25-8-1937.

LINGUISTICE PROVINCES.

The Hon. Mr. B. Sambamurthi's address in Hall yesterday must revive interest in the quest establishment of linguistic Provinces. He has to a subject on which many must have been expecti statement from the congress Party. The congress adopted the policy of creating autonomous provinces on linquistic basis its success in the elections was regarded by those who had been asking for the redistribution of Provinces as promise of the fulfilment of their demand. In fact this demand was an issue at the elections in certain important areas. Presiding over the Karnataka unification conference at Belgaum in November last Dr. U. Rama Rao reiterated the plea for the formation of a Karnataka province and said. If the Congress is in a majority in the Madras and Bombay Legislative Assemblies and councils, and also in the Federal Assembly there is every hope of our case being heard and upheld. What we should immediately do, as a part of the programme of Karnataka unification, is to start a whirlwind election campaign and see that only congress candidates are returned ffrom Karnatka and from other places where canarese influence is felt, to the legislative Assemblies and councils of Bombay and Madras." As in the Karnataka, so also in the Telugu and other areas, the congress P rty was expected to work for the creation of linguist provinces in order to protect and develop the culture the respective territories. Its silence on this after the elections is liable to be misunderstood, Mr. Sambamurthi's statement on the subject makes

ugh of course, he was only expressing
n and not the opinion of any party.

e language of the masses, he says, should be the language of the Government. From this point of view a linguistic province must depend on its own language for Provincial urposes. Mr. Sambamurthi thus envisages the developement f Provincial languages with Hindi as a national language. But many of the more ardent supporters of South Indian languages resent to rivalry of Hindi and oppose its adoption as a subject of compulsory study in schools, a measure which supporters of Hindi consider necessary for its propagation in this Province. P resent indications are that the demand for linguistice Pro nces and that for the adoption of Hindi as a common lang ge cannot stand together and this is a point on which authoritative congress opinion is wanted.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 1-9-1937.

THE STATES AND FEDERATION.

Yesterday the Indian States were recently attacked in the Madras Legislative Assembly becuase they hasnot introduced representative institutions, and the Federation envisaged in the Government of India Act, 1935 was denounced because of the States. Yesterday evening, Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyyar showed th t if the States entered the Federation, the advantage would not all be one side. it is receiprocal." It is a misapprehension to suppose that the States may hinder the progress of the Provinces. It is more likely that Provinces and States having similar interests will become allied against those whose interests are dissimilar and opposed, thus maritime states and maritime Provinces, will like interests, may unite, and interior States and interior Provinces likewise. This is a more reasobbable view than that all the States will unite against all the Provinces. The character of the issues coming before the federal Assembly, the conflitt of interests between Provinces and between differing States, would prevent this. With regard to the contention that all the representatives from the States would be nominated, Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyyar can concieve of States where in atleast two thirds members sent to the Federal Legislature would bee His suggestion in view of the unique opportuni had of sounding Statex opinions, deserves carefu The Indian States have, as he said, a contribution to the Federation of all-India which none other and it would be the supreme folly to estrange t

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THE MAIL:- Dt. 16-10-1937.

HINDI IN SCHOOLS.

While some advance has been made in the pro-ation of Hindi in South India by the efforts of non-officia organisations a serious obstacle to the further progress of the language is created by the efforts of the Party in Power to make it a subject for compulsory study in schools. The Premier told an audience at Theagarayanagar yesterday that the propaganda for Hindi had intensified the agitation for Tamil. We welcomed the enthusiasm for Tamil and assured those who were afraid that Tamil wouldbe subordinated to Hindi in the curriculum that Tamil would receive due attention. The Minister for Education, likewise, stated at Coimbatore that Hindi and Tamil would receive equal attention. But such an assurance is no reply to those who object to Hindi as a compulsory subject. They contend that if Hindi, which is foreign to this Presidency is introduced into the curriculum it will be too heavy a burden on the pupils and will interfere with the study of the mother tongue and other important subjects and consequently lower the standard of education. A language unrelated to the children's environment, cannot be taught efficiently and may only he half understood and be soon forgotten, the teaching resulting in further waste in education.

A factor that seriously discounts the propaganda for Hindi is that some of the most prominent propagandists are themselves ignorant of the language. Nowab A[illegible]dul Hakim who presided over the meeting addressed by th[illegible] remarked that the majority of the Ministers of th[illegible] cabinet and their Parliamentary secretaries di[illegible] Hindi. Whether this is a fact or not, it i[illegible]

her this is a fact or not, it is beyond ubt that all advocates of Hindi have not correctly and fully estimated its usefulness. The argument advanced by the Premier that by learning Hindi unemployment can be relieved overlook the fact that unemployment prevails as widely in the Hindi speaking as in the non-Hindi areas. That the majority of the members of the audience at the meeting raised their hands in support of the proposition to make Hindi a compulsory subject in schools was no indication of any preference for the language. The Hon. Dt.subbaroyan showed great appreciatio of public opinion and a regard for the people when he declared that it would not be too easy for the government to carry out the Hindi proposal and that even the congress government ought to change their opinion as the public desired.

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THE MAI[torn] L- Dt. 13-2-1937.

CONGRESS AND THE EUROPEAN.

In ~~his~~ Presidential address to the Nilgiris Circ of the South Indian branch of the European association, Captain E.G. Windle rightly pointed out the ~~x~~inconsiste contained in Mr. Satyamurthi's recent advice on the role of Europeans in the coming legislatures. Mr. Satyamurthi begs Europeans to identify themselves with one party or another. Yet he admits that situated as we are today, it is now too possible for the Europeans to ally themselves with the Indian Nayional congress," and be would not have them ally themselves with "reactionary groups" by which, the context suggests, he means to indicate the Justice Party. Perhaps his real intention was to echo Mr. Wanglings advice that Europeans should not identify themselves with any party to the extent of joining the ministry, and at the same time, to put in a plea for a better understanding of congress aims and methods. He sugg that Europeans should not get angry with phrases lik "wrecking the constitution". If they were true to genius of their race, they must realise and also sy with the natural desire of Indians to gobern them Europeans should have the courage to cooperate w in removing the safeguards in the gobernment of Act." The future of the Europeans in India w large extent, depend on the part they play in for the freedom of the Motherland, without b bechmen of the Bureaucracy or its allies."

Captain Windle thinks that this advice d not sound disinterested. It is not, but it m sincere. Not many years ago, a great deal w

of the obstacle which the European sense of prestige presented to an amicable solution of the Indian political problem and to the establishment of more rational social relations. Less is heard of this complaint today, presumably for the reason that Europeans have given so many tangible proofs of goodwill. Now, however, there is the prestige of the Indian, and of the Indian National Congress in particular, to consider. It is apparently impossible for Mr. Satyamurthi to say frankly that the congress is anxious for the support of Europeans, would value it and would even be prepared to make concessions to secure it. Congress policy of recent years has been mentioned in an atmosphere of uncompromising hostility. It would be damaging to the prestige of a Congress leader to suggest that Europeans should ally themselves with congress except on Congress's terms. It would be fatal to that prestige to suggest that the constituion can be improved in the working and that the safeguards can be removed only by a process of evolution, aided by the creation of a lasting goodwill between the communities. On these terms, however, the support of Europeans could be secured.

Mr. Satyamurthi has no need to appeal; he knows that the considered policyof Europeans and of the European and of the European Association is to Sympathise with the natural desire of Indians to govern themselves. He knows, too, that wrecking tactics' cause both condemnation and apprehension amoung Europeans because they create doubts of Indian capacity for self-government. The average Briton has no patience with the doctrine, as Captain Windle's speech clearly shows. If the European representatives are to identify themselves with any party in the legislature it will be xxx becuase that party has

has exhibited statesmanlike views and a ca
practical decisions. What Mr. Satyamur
sympathy with aims and there much commongr
found. But it is practically impossible to
aims from methods. Europeans are perfectly r
exchange statutory safeguards for safeguards base
goodwill when the time comes. But they may be exc
if they fail to detect the seeds of goodwill in a
patronising invitation to swallow the congress programme whole accompanied, by an assurance that it will be to their altimate benefit.- an assurance which reads remarkably like a threat that, if they refuse the congress terms, it will be the worse for them. Captain Windle suggests that congress should take toleration instead of destruction as their motto. But something more active than toleration is required. A party which claims to represent the whole of India should seek to justify that claim by winning over the minorities and cease to act as a club or association with a strict code of rules which must be accepted entire by the new member who moreover, on admission, is powerless to change them.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 27-1-1938.

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MUSLIMS WALKOUT OF MADRAS ASSEMBLY.

Singing of VANDE MATARAM.

Notable innovations marked the opening of the Madras Legislative Assembly today. Muslims and a few other members walked out as a protest against the siging of "Vande Mataram" and the speaker for the first time led the House in prayer.

The idea conceived by the speaker of installing loud speakers outside the chamber for the benefit of a large number of those who could not find accommodation inside the chamber and follow the debate was appreciated and in fact some newspaper representatives felt that with the necessary arragements they could follow the debate better from outside.

Precisely at 11 A.M. the Hon. Mr. Bulusu Sambamurthi the speaker, took the chair and said 'Prayer'. Immediately Mr. Abdul Hameed khan said:"We protest against this song and we walk out". The Muslim Members followed by Sir A.T. Pannirselvan, walked out of the Assembly.

After the singing of Vande Matharam, the sepaker read the following prayer.

'O Eternal and Almighty God!! We the repres
of the people of the Madras Presidency assembled her
Parliament, fervently pray that our hearts may be s
enlightened that we may be freed from all passions
prejudices and that our minds be so constituted
our deliberations, we may not purpose or de
than in the best interest welfare
We heartily pray th se

to pass laws and resolutions for the maintenance of truth and justice, wealth, health and happiness of the people and that we may also possess strength and determination to devote ourselves to the service of our motherland and harness all energies and resources for the attainment of freedom and peace. Om Santhi ' Santhi' Santhi'

At the conclusion of the prayer, the Muslim members followed by Sir A.T. Pannirselvam entered the Assembly Chamber.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 28-2-1938.

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COMPULSORY TEACHING OF HINDI OPPOSED.

The Anti Hindi conference to protest against the propsal of the Madras Government into introduce Hindi as a subject of compulsory study in the first, second and third forms in secondary schools, was held at conjeevaram yesterday.

Sir K.V.Reddi Nayudu presided and Sir M.Krishan Nair opened the conference.

Sir M.Krishnan Nair in the course of his address observed that to compel a child, whether a boy or a girl, to study Hindi in addition to those subjects is to perpetrate an act of cruelty. One unavoidable effect of this cruelty will be to make the life of the child concerned a burden to it and to deaden its intellect. He further added that when an attempt is made to make Hindi a 'lingua franca' for all India communal and religious controversies of an unpleasant nature will certainly be raised.

Dealing on Employment question he observed: "Instances of the difficulty of young graduates in the United Provinces, whose mother tongue is Hindi in getting employment even on low salaries in their own Provinces do not afford much ground for thinking that young and indigent graduate from South India, even though they may be equipped with a knowledge of Hindi will easily get employment in the north of India. If a lingua franca be necessary for India, there is English readily available for the purpose. It was a knowledge of English that enabled the educated men of the different province[illegible] Indi[illegible] hold the first Indian National congres[illegible] year 1885. The English language h[illegible] reasons, come to stary as a perm[illegible] people of India and it[illegible]

In these circumstances, there is no reason to caste aside, on mistaken notions of patriotism, the English language as a foreign one and attempt the impossible taks of making Hindi which is thelanguage of only a part of the country, the language of the whole country and that, too, against the wishes of the people concerned.

It is our duty as well as our interest to nourish cultivate and develop Tamil and other Dravidian languages which are our mother tongues.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 1-3-1938.

VANDE MATARAM IN THE ASSEMBLY.

The statement made by the Prėmier in the Legislative Assembly this morning on the question of the singing of Vande Mataram as a part of the daily prayers will, beyond doubt, be widely applauded. For in it be shows a consideration for the feelings of others that cannot fail to make for peace and goodwill. Whatever the associations that this national song has for many in this country, however, deeply they may feel about it, it cannot be denied that others are offended when required to regard it as a prayer to the Almighty for guidance.

Their scruples are entitled to respect. It may be, it has been, argued that the verses of Vande Mataram ususually seing contain no allusion to a specific deity, but everyone knows that the first verse or verses are but part of a unity which is unquestionably a prayer to certain Hindu deities. Its use in a mixed gathering of followers of many faith, such as is found in the Legislative Assembly is, therefore, certain to arouse undesirable feelings as, indeed, it has done in the Assembly. By appealing to the speaker to suspend its use, the Premier, speaking for the Government, has made a raceful gesture which provoked a speedy and equally friendly response. We trust, therefore, that the ... has been heard of this controversy, and that the bi... it has given rise to will disappear, leaving no t... of ill will or suspicion in any quarter.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 23- 5-1938 .

CONGRESS PROPAGANDA AGAINST FEDERATION.

The Tamilnad Provincial Congress committee has organised a vigorous propaganda against Federation. Mr. C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, President, T.N.C.C. said that though the congress had accepted office, they had not approved the present constitution and were pledged to fight for the freedom of India, and reject Federation accordingly. If Federation was allowed to become a 'fait accompli' India could not become a free country and Federation should therefore, he resisted with all the power at their command. He appealed to all to strengthen the ha the congress.

He further warned against being misguided by of the persons those who recently joined the congr out of selfish motives to discredit the Party. T Congress Party should get rid of such persons.

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THE MAIL: Dt. 31-5-1938.

THE POSITION OF THE SPEAKER.

In anx article in the current issue of Harijan on "The position of the speaker," says Mr. Satyamurthi, who is opposed to speaker's engaging in political activities, makes the point that It is not necessary to follow the convention of the House of commons because it is the convention of that House. But that convention represents the wisdom of cneturies of actual experience of Parliamentary life." In recent years blind politcal racialism has deprived many leading Indian politicians of the cpacity for impartial judgement. They cannot cast off altogether the influence of British political ideals in which they were nurtured. Indeed, these guides the course of the political struggle. But there is an inclination to condemn anything that is British as had. Mr. Satyamurthi assumes the attitude that anything which is British is not necessarily either good or bad, but must be examined on its merits. If this attitude previals it is unlikely that democratic ideals w[illegible] deserted in favour of totalitarian, for imparti[illegible] consideration will show the value of democrati[illegible] liberties and traditions. In this particular [illegible] Mr. Satyamurthi has obviously chosen rightly. [illegible] conclusion, that "The isolation of the speaker i[illegible] is the condition of his authority on the Hous[illegible] usefulness to it and must be preserved,"We c[illegible] It should be evident even if the accumulated e[illegible] and wisdom of the British Parliamentary syste[illegible] go to prove it. Nevertheless, if the pres[illegible] of distruct can be overcome and it is bein[illegible] the general opinion [illegible] likely to be tha[illegible]

Parliamentary conventions may safely be accepted without examination. If they do not acclimatise themselves, they may be dropped or modified later. But the danger of wholesale adoption is considerably less than that of improvisation at the present stage, especially if such improvisation is not the result of clear thinking.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 12-6-1938. 441

OPPOSITION TO HINDI.

Sir A.T. Pannirselvam's opposition to Hindi, address at Virdunagar conference. Tamil culture will be destroyed

The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, was severely criticised for his proposal to introduce compulsory Hindi in schools by Sir A.T. Pannirselvam, who, presiding over the First Ramnad District Tamilian's conference held at Virdunagar said that the introduction of Hindi "is going to be an abstabcle to the educational progress of our youths, and that "our mother tongue is going to be strangled and our culture ultimately destroyed." He had, however, no objection to making Hindi an optional subject in schools provided no money was spent for the purpose out of the public exchequer.

It is well known that the Hon. Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar, Premier, has his finger in every government pie, that there is no department in which he has not dominant voice and that he is the only person who counts and that his colleagues are mere rabots, whose voice is only the echo of the masters voice. Once again he is trying to establish the Brahmin monopoly and supr[...]cy which had so long been the bane of the Province [...]h the Justice Party tried to eradicate and create [...]qual to all.

I suggest that a minimum standard of kn[...] in Tamil for each grade of education should be [...] on the advice of persons competant to offer t[...] and the attainment of that standard should, [...]

school in Tamil Nad, he insisted on before a pupil is allowed to pass on to the higher grade. Till this is done I should object to public funds being spent on the teaching of Hindi, even as an optional subejct. After all Hindi is at best a luxury, and luxuries must give place to necessities.

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THE MAIL- Dt.17-6-1938.

IN DEFENCE OF HINDI.

A meeting held by the congress party in favour of the introduction of compulstory Hindi is no more, and no less convincting than one held by the Justice Party to protest against it. At lost nights' meeting on the Triplicane Beach Mr. Santhanam produced on ingenuous defence of compulsion. It was really out of kindness to those who were opposed to it, lost later they should find that they had missed a great chance- as had happened to those who refused to learn English. So might Mrs. Squeers have defended her brimstone and treacle policy. If the pupils of Dotheboys Hall had not grown up strong healthy men, they might in later years have been inclined to blame the worthy dame for allowing them to miss their daily dose. It appears likely, however, that, when political consciousness expands, the number of people who will blame this Ministry or its successors for not giving them the opportunity to become educated will be much larger than that of those who complain that they were never compelled to learn Hindi as secondary school boys. The Premier, it will be seen, welcomes the oppositi[illegible] a test of strength and patience- hitherto, some ma[illegible] strength has been more evident than patience. Bu[illegible] is apparently not prepared to make any further co[illegible] and this i[illegible] prising becuase he is reporte[illegible] had no doubt that[illegible]

intelligently the affairs of the country. If this claim can be substantiated, opposition to Hindi should cease abruptly. It is not Mrs. Sqveer's brimstone and treacle but Alladdin's lamp.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 6-7-1938.

CHALLENGE TO ANTI-HINDI LEADERS.

Addressing a public meeting at Theagaroyanagar last night, Mr. S.Satyamurthi challenged the leaders of the Anti-Hindi agitation to fight congressmen on the anti-Hindi issue and seek the verdict of the electorate. He added he was prepared to fight an election to the Legislature on the anti-Hindi issue with Sir K.V.Reddi Nayudu, or Prof. Somasundara Bharathi, the leaders of the agitation.

Mr. Satyamurthi added that he had found that the youths who were now keeping up the agitation were hirelings. He could understand a movement if its chiefs took a leading part in it, but he could not take seriously, an agitation in which youths were placed in the forefront, the leaders themselves keeping behind.

The Hon. Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar had re yeoman service to Tamil and he and other congres infused a new life into that language. When t Justice Party was in power for over 15 years, introduce Tamil as a medium of instruction in but now the congress Ministry had introduced this raising the mother tongue of the pupils to its ri place in the curriculum of studies. Still, the Hindi agitators condemned the Ministry as being to Tamil simply becuase they also wanted the pu learn Hindi.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 28-7-1938.

ANTI-HINDI "DECTATOR" CONVICTED.

E. Sivananda Adigal, Anti Hindi "Dictator" was convicted by third Presidency Magistrate of abetment of the offence of picketing in front of the Premier's house in Mambalam and sentenced to 9 months R.I.

The accused was alleged to have addressed meetings in the city and appealed to the people to offer themselves as volunteers to picket the Premier's house with a view to secure the cancellation of the order introducing H in certain schools in the Presidency.

From the evidence it was clear that the acc was actively assiting in the enrolment of voluntee in instigating the public to loiter and picket. ' accused", the Magistrate went on "has issued appeal appeal for volunteers, published in the newspapers they were to offer Satyagraha in front of the Pre house, and has also appealed for funds. The acc had been looking after the boarding and lodging for the volunteers.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 3-8-1938.

101 TAMIL VOLUNTEERS MARCHING TO MADRAS.

Enforcement of Criminal Law Amendment Act criticised. With Mr. E.V.Ramaswami Naicker presiding a meeting was held at the Townhall Square was to wish the Tamil Volunteers- 101 in number- who are walking to Madras from Trichinopoly success in their mission. It is understood that the Police prohibited the use of drum and a bugle on the march. The meeting was attended by about 5,000 Anti Hindi songs were sung.

The speakers criticised the Premier and the Congress Ministry. There was a great disturbance in the meeting. Sand throwing was also resortedh by the Hindi supporters.

Khan Bahadur Halifullah observed that the Premier had been misleading people by letting them that the Anti-Hindi Movement was not supportedby public opinion. This troop of Anti-Hindi marchers was started only to prove that the Premier was wrong and that the Anti Hindi Movement was really supported by the public. ~~Anti-Hindi marchers are to offer Satyagraha government policy~~

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THE MAIL - Dt. 10-8-1938.

Anti-Hindi Marchers not to offer Satyagraha.

Government policy criticised at Mofussil meetings. speeches protesting against the introduction of compulsory Hindi- in schools and government's application of the criminal law Amendment Act to punish Anti-Hindi picketers were made at several meetings held in the mofussil yesterday, while the President of Auruppukotah Taluq Congress committee has informed the Premier of Madras that 64 congress committees and 100 public meetings in the Taluq and the Ramnad District conference have supported Hindi.

The anti-Hindi Marchers from Trichinopoly will not disobey the law or offer satyagraha but will desperse after holding a public meetings in Madras.

28 prisoners, sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in connection with the anti-Hindi campaign in the city were sent to Bellary jail this morning as there is not sufficient room for them in the Madras Penitentiary.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 4-10-1938.

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TO GOVERN OR GET OUT.

Mr. Satyamurthi on congress decision:-

Mr. Satyamurthi reviewing the business of the recent session of the All India Congress committee at Delhi, in a statement observed" If Federation, as it stands today is imposed on India then every uttermost of his non-violent strength. But if they substitute it by another Federation, ore suited to our needs and more consonant with our wishes, then I am not going to make up my mind in advance and say that whatever you do I will not accept it- I am a practical politician, and a realist. It may never come, but if it does I will write to Mahatma Gandhi and ask him to consider it.

He said that though the session was conducted in Hindi, excepting a handful of delegates from Madras, the audience and the committee followed all the speeches and discussions, none or lessclosely.

The public should see, be continued, that they taught a lesson to the rebel congressmen. In Madras these rebels had developed a further teachique. They send they were better congressmen than the official congress candidates. He appealed to the citisens to reject counterfiet coin.

He further said that several congressmen been advocating murder, arson and loot. The co would support the congress governments in thei for the defence of life and property. "We a fighting the third Party for Purna Swaraj.

the limited power given to us, the congress has given true evidence of its strength."

"So long as it undertakes the responsibility of governing this country, even under the limitations of the Act, it means to govern or get out. The socialists were angry and they staged a walkout."

Mr. Satyamurthi concluded by saying that it was the duty of every congressman to see that the hands of the congress Ministries were strengthened as against the Governor vested interests and political enemies.

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THE MAIL - Dt. 21-11-1938.

NO ORGANISED OPPOSITION.

"It can safely be said that the Justice Party no longer exists in this District"Said Mr. T.N.Ramakrishna Reddi M.L.A., when interviewed by a Madras Mail representative. The results of the District Board elections confirm his view and like those from other Districts, reveal how completely this Province is dominated by ourParty. We are tempted to ask whether, as sincere democrats, the majorityParty is pleased with that state of affairs? We know that the Premeier, than whom no more sincere congress Party men exists, has paid a warm tribute to the work of the opposition in the Legislature, and hold told that the people that it serves a very good purpose. Who and what serves that purpose in the District Boards? The few indipendents that have been returned do not constitute an opposition. Their very title indicates their freedom from political allegiances, and, therefore, deprives them of the character of an opposition. So that at present in the majority of districts in th is Provinces we ha[illegible] single Party control, with all its dangerous possibi[illegible] Commentators have warned us that the Provinces unde[illegible] congress Minstries are rapidly degenerating into t[illegible] territories. We do not think the process has gav[illegible] far as the gloomy ones think, but it behoves all [illegible] friends of democracy to ask themselves whether [illegible] effort should not be made to provide in t[illegible]hese sphe[illegible] administration those [illegible] checks which an oppositi[illegible] is intended to supply, so that in the conduct of l[illegible] affairs all points of view shall be herd and pro[illegible] proposals subjected to exhaustive scrutiny.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 3-12-1938

COLD CONFORT.

The Revenue Minister stated in the Madras Assembly yesterday that out of 215 villages officers who had been dismissed on account of their participation in the non-cooperation and civil disobedience movements, 122 had been restored to office. The legal heirs of a further forty seven had been ordered to be appointed. Orders barring future employment had been cancelled in seven cases. The number of cases still under consideration was thirteen. The beneficiaries may regard themselves as lucky in view of Mr. Gandhi's statement that suffering voluntarily undergone should be its own reward. It is Mr. Gandhi's opinion that "these government servants as a class were the least sufferings". He adds insult to injury. "If they have been without work all these years, they can hardly become efficient servants of the State. only those congressmen may enter government service whose market value is higher than what they can get from the government". This is indeed cold confort. But Sir A.T. Pannirselvam asked a pointed question in the Assembly yesterday, namely whether it was the view of the Government that what was considered indiscipline by the preceding government might be considered discipline by the present government and would be present government like the succedding government to act in like manner with regard to the present orders? To this question he received no satisfactory reply.

There is no doubt that the introduction of the spoils system in Government appointments would be a grave disadvantage. The present government adm

the loyalty of the officers who have come down to them from the previous regime. The foundation of this loyalty is obedience to the orders of whatever government may be in power. An efficient officer should keep his political opinions to himself. Mr.Gandhi does not plainly say that; but, by declaring that a war whether violent or non-violent loses its thrill and grandeur if the warriors are insured against all loss he acknoledges that, if an officer does meddle in politic and suffers in consequence he cannot expect compensation subsequently from a government which shares his political ~~xiews~~ views. No doubt that dictum will be carefully borne in mind in future.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 24-2-1939.

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THE GOVERNMENT'S ALLEGIANCE.

In the Madras Legislative Assembly yesterday, the Premier protested against a statement by Mr. Abdur Hahman Khan that "although in the strict constitutional sense the Government owe allegiance to the Legislature, in fact their allegiance is to an outside body, whose orders the Government are ever prepared to carryout." But while the Premier may protest, he has only himself to blame if the general public has his impression. He has caused it. As Mr. Rhahman Khan said, last year the public were warned that the constitutional crisis in Bihar might have serous reactions in thîs Presidency. This year, the Premier opened his Budget speech with a warning that the Government's tenure of office is uncertain. There is nothing in the composition of the Assembly, nor is the trend of public opinion in this Presidency to justify such a warning. To what, then, was the Prime Minister referring? Obviously to that outside boyd to which Mr. Rahman Khan alluded, a body which has no constitutional relationship whatever with the government of this Presidency, a Parti hierarchy underm no obligation to the electors of this Presidency, and not required by their pledges to serve the elector's interests.

When Mr. Rahman Khan says that the Government should not keep the Presidency in a state of uncertainity as to the continued existence of the government, he i[illegible] voicing the opinion of many thousands of voters, and of a[illegible]l who have the true interests of the Province a[illegible] heart [illegible]h uncertainity as the Premier indicates, ca[illegible] [illegible]ernal forces and wholly unconnected with [illegible] [illegible]lems of this Province and its people, is [illegible]able. If the Premier and his Cabi[illegible]

the opinions of the Party hierarchy to those of the elct
they should not retain office, but should make way for
others owing undivided allegiance to the constituencies.
Mr. Rahman Khan claimed that he made his remarks not out
of malice but of conviction. There are many others who
share his views. "No man can serve twomasters." The
Government have, of their own free will and accord
shouldered certain responsibilities, and undertaken
certain duties. Having done this, they should denote
themselves to the fulfilment of their responsibilites
and the performance of their duties with the singleness
of purpose they demand.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 6-6 -1939.

A CASE FOR SETTLEMENT.

From a speech made at a meeting at Ootacamund, it appears that the picketing of schools, in connexion with the movement against compulsory Hindi will be resumed in Madras on June 15. This is regrettable. We had hoped that the suspicion of the movement would have produced a clamer atmosphere and that the Prime Ministers' promise to consider the question of ~~xx~~including Hindi among the optional subjects would have led to a satisfactory solution. The release of Mr. E.V.Ramaswami Naicker was of good augury and it is rumoured with what truth is unknown, that the remaining prisoners convinced for picketting will be released very soon. Enthusiasts for Hindi will not be satisfied until proficiency in the language is imposed as a condition for entry into Government service. But if the learning of Hindi had been made optional, nobody could seriously have complained, except, possib some, of the waste of public many which might move us have been spent in increasing the number of litera We are convinced that the abandonment of compuls even now bring the agitation to an end.

At the same time an appeal might to be ma those who are so enthusiastic example set in other Provinces and each quarantee to make one adult lite Thus the new enthusiasm for Tamil literature and c would not be wasted. Picketing is going to do r to help Tamil. Mr. Annadurai's announcement th will be resumed with redoubled vigour and that volunteers, including some from outside Indi for the purpose, is reminisecent of an an

forthcoming reappearance of a fovourite theatircal troup with several new artisties. Picketing has suceeded in ixxitab irritating the Government, but it has done little to recommend the movement to men of impartial views. If picketing is resumed all chances of a settlement will disappear and government will, in all probability, pass on with their plans for extending Hindi, like Prohibition and temple entry throughout the Presidency.

We have never been very impressed with the view that learning a little Hindi will either impose an intolerable burden on the young mind or lead to the degradation of Tamil. Knowledge of Hindustani is a very good thing. But it is not so good a thing that it should be encouranged at the cost of fomenting one of the most undesirable controversies this Province has witnessed for many years. The majority of people in India still think in terms of Our village and by a curious paradox, some of the leading nationalists propose a policy which is likely to confirm them in their parachialism. Let not the cosmopolitan condemn too ready these Tamils, who think of their language, or these Andhdras and Khalars, who think in terms of their province, or Madrasis and south Indians generally who beleive that they still have something to teach the North. Expanding loyalties should not be discouraged, but so moulded so to help in the framing of a living nation. Learning Hindi will never turn a Madrasi into a Punjabi. Differences must exist even with the widest spread of common culture, But they are likely to be increased, not so much by spontaneo manifestations of sectional tendencies, as by forcing the pace towards an artificial unity.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 22-7-1939

THE CONGRESS AND OFFICIALS.

Nothing could be more welcome at the present time than the Premier's outspoken defence of officials at Tanjore yesterday. There has long been a tendency among members of the congress Party especially among those holding subordinate office in the Party organisation in the mofussil, to regard themselves as the masters of the services, the members of whidh should be prepared to do their bidding without question. This attitude has naturally led to friction, and has, given rise to those complaints to which the Hon. Mr. C.Rajagoapalachariar to timely referred. His declaration that "officials have nowadays been ~~dispos~~ divested of any responsibility they are carrying out the instructions of Ministers," should be posted prominently on the walls of every Party office, so that all Party members should read and remember it.

Unfortunately, however, other Ministers and Party leaders have not always taken the Premier's view. They have been to ready to lend an ear to complaints made by Partymen against officials, and have too frequently given the impression that they would see that complaining Party members are fully satisfied. For instance speaking at Tanjore on June 11, 1939, before a disti audience, including the Minister for Public Informa said:"The bureaucracy in this Province has not risen the offasion and deserved the generous treatment o Ministry... Officials as a body should not be ab in their own individual comforts and emolum found that the Congress Ministry will ...d ready method to put down o

efficienty, they continue merrily in their old habits of laziness, indifference and illegitimate gratification. Loans to indebted agriculturists are not being distributed promptly, the police are reported to have reverted to their traditional attitude of contempt and arrogance towards the people".

Such language, used by a leading member of the Party against public servants, deprived by the government of the right to reply effectively in the Press or from the platform, is unpardonable. There is no justification whatever for such wholesale condemnation. The Premier rightly deplores its use, and sees in its employment, a reason to doubt whether our party men have developed in themselves that change of mentality which they so often complain islacking in officials. The services will be grateful for the Premier's words.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 11-10-1939.

THE NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT REVIVED.

One of the results of Sunday's meeting of representative Non-Brahmins is the publication today of a manifesto reviving the Non-Brhamin movement of twentyfive years ago- Led by such stalwarts as Dr. T.M.Nayar and Sir P.T. Theogaroya Chettiar, that movement had as it s obejct the destruction of what is called the Brahmin monopoly in South India, and its replacement by a system which would ensure an euqla share of office and preferment, as wellas of other civic rights and privileges, to members of the great Non-Brahmin community. The signatories of the presentm manifesto admit that it seems an absurdity for a majority community to demand adequate constitutional safeguards against the dominance of a minority community. But they contend that the experience of the past two years has proved how unwise they were to abandon their claims for the inclusion in the Government of India Act of 1935. of those safeguards which had proved so valuable to Non-Brahmins during the period of the Montford Reforms. They assert that the present franchise has enabled the Brahmin minorit constituting only 3 per cent of the population to secur seven times as many seats as its numerically entitled in the Legislative Assembly to the utter discomfitur the Non-Brahmins." The signatories, affirm that scheduled caste and Labour have been equally frus the interests of the former being sacrified to the purposes of the congress Part. "under disciplinary action."

This revival of Nor

regarded with equanimity by

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integration of India's proples and the elimination of integration of India's peoples and the elimination of intercommunal jealousies. One reason to justify their action which is likely to command any measure of accepta[illegible] is their assertion that by its attitude towards the question of India's cooperation in the war, the congress party has forfeited all title to represent the masses of the people of India.]

It is possible that the Government have not done as much as they might have done to make it easy for Non-Brahmins to enter the services by meticulous insistence upon qualifications and rules. This has gradually developed amoung non-Brahmins the conviction that the Government are indifferent to their claims, and are more concerned with satisfying those of their more vocal sup[illegible] drawn, Non-Brahmins assert, mainly from the Brahmin community. The taxation policy of the Government, which while leaving the professional classes, composed principally of Brahmins, almost untouched, has gravely affected Non-Brahmin, Muslim and the scheduled castes communities. This had developed the impression that the Government are mainly interested in one community.

The Brahmin Premier, Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar will strongly repudiate such suggestions of partisanship. The Premier will give his usual reply that he has merely obeyed the mandate of the electorate, as expressed at the last general election. He is justified in making [illegible] ...ctorate pulmped overwhelming for the [illegible] ...ll returning congress candidates [illegible] ...ies, and giving them majori[illegible] [illegible] ...erefore, b[illegible] d bat that

that the party lacks the support of the electorate
the signatories of the present manifesto contend as
their predecessors in the Non-Brahmin movement twenty
five years ago, that the Party and especially its
Brahmin candidates, obtain this support by reason of the
special position they traditionally occupy in the life
of the community. This, again, is a matter about which
there will be two opinions, since it is equally contended
by others that religion has ceased to control the life
of the multitudes.

The truth is that it is difficult to give concrete reasons for Non-Brahmin dissatisfaction. It is the produce of felt rather than manifest grievances of discontents born of frustration rather than of actual deprivation. It is too soon yet to say whether this revival of the Non-Brhamin meovment will ever attain the strength and influence of its predecessor of 25 years ago, but one thing is certain, it is bound to draw a certain measure of support from the disgruntled and the apprehensive. Among the latter one those who see in the working of the Congress Party a distinct tendency, to introduce into the politics and administration of this country those totalitarian methods against which the democratic nations are fighting in the West. Those who hold this view see in the reluctance of the Congress Party to accord unconditional support to these demorcratic nations in their war on Nazism proof of an ill concealed administration ... ts methods. This conclusion may not be justified ... act
but the best way in which the congress Party may
it is by abandoning all attempts to make coope
dependent upon the satisfaction of its politi
For such satisfaction is impossible so lon
minorities, and other communities, like

minorities, and other communities like the Non-Brahmin, which challenge their right to speak for India.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 11-12-1939.

A PREMIER REPLIES.

Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar's emphatic denial of the charges made by Mr. Jinnah against congress Ministries commands attention by reason of the fact that, not merely does the reaffirm the attitude taken by his Government in an official publication issued some months ago, but he does not deny, as some do, the existence of Muslim dissatisfaction. It is a different thing altogether to say that, apart from any actual grievance, a community is entitled to feel dissatisfied is regard to participation in administrative power," he says. "The hopes and aspirations of people are facts to be taken notice of, but it is wrong to seek to buttress them with baseless allegations."

There is so much good sense in this remark that it will be remembered with beneficial effect when the outbursts of others less restrained are forgotten. It is too often overlooked by politicians in power that a sense of frustration can be a more prolific producer of grievances than even genuine deprivation. Mr. Rajagopala chariar, wiser than many men in his Party, concedes this fact. A minority, grievances arise as much from the feeling that it cannot effectively influence policy as from any concretex act of a Government in power. This evident in speeches of Adi-Dravida and Non-Brahmin leaders in our own Province. During his term of office Rajagoapachariar was often constrained to atten convince such that his Ministry were not guil offences against minorities with which they w It will be recalled how he caused a statemen representation of communities i the Madra

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to be published with a view to disproving the contention that his Ministry had ignored minority claims. And time and again he declared the Government's intention of adherin to the policy laid down in the communal Government Order, published by a non-Congress Ministry.

Yet he would be the first to admit that these protestation, and the proofs by which they were accompanied failed to satisfy the minorities. Why? The answer is to be found in the sentences, quoted above, from his reply to Mr. Jinnah. These minorities remained dissatisfied because their hopes and aspirations were unfulfilled. They felt, rightly or wrongly, that members of the minority communities within the congress majority in the Legislature did not voice the real minority opinions. This doubt of the ~~re~~ representative character of communal members of a Party is not new. The congress Press, when in opposition, insisted that the opinion of minority members of their Party more faithfully reflected their communities views than did the opinion of minority suppor of the then Ministries. Even today, the Party claims i minority members speak with greater anthority than do their contemporaries belonging to other parties. Hence they assert that the congress Party is the true voice of India, Thus Mr. Jinnah, Mr. M.C. Rajah and Mr. Ramaswam Naicker are following precedent when they urge that thei respective following speaks the authentic voice of their community.

Mr. C.Rajagopalacharar believes that the dissatisfaction to which Mr. Jinnah gives expressio the prod[illegible] of communal electorates. Yet in our c[illegible] [illegible]ovince [illegible]aders of the cheduled classes are most [illegible]

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in their denunciation of the unrepresentative character of the reputed representatives, of that community in the Legislature. Yet these members are elected by a joint electorate in a manner generally approved by Mr. Rajagopalachariar. Why then this discontent? The truth is that the scheduled classes are not less dissatisfied, are not less disgruntled by frustration than are the Muslims and other minorities whose representatives xxxxx are chosen by seperate electorates. We are not blind to the defects of an electoral system which fixes for an indefinite period the maximum number of seats open to a minority. But we are not less aware of the arguments against to alternative, joint electorates, which make the majority community the arbiter of the politcal complexion of a minority's representation. To this inevitable outcome of joint electorates we owe the protests of the scheduled classes against their retention. If then seperate electorates one harmful, the remedy is not the adoption of joint electorates, which must lead in the long run to the totalitarian device of an approved electoral list. Some other means must be found to remove the dissatisfaction of minorities and to encourage them to look for the fulfilment of thie hopes and aspirations. The need of the times is that leaders of all communities and all Parties should denote themselves to the discovery of such means to the end tht communal bitterness may be removed, and minorities may feel that the future holds something better for them than constant submission to a numeric
majority which they cannot hope to displace from
by the increase of their own numbers. The reme
does not lie in days of rejoicing or condemnat
unfortunately, the recent past affords
of the resort to such festivals by m

of the resort to such festivals by many who now most strongly condemn them for what they ündoubtedly one, occasions for fostering hatred and promoting discord.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 26-1-1940.   473

IMDEPENDENCE DAY.

Congress Flag Hosted and the Pledge taken:

Today Congress members and organisations throughout India celebrated Independence Day. There were processions and flog-hositing ceremonies throughtout the country, and leaders, addressing gatherings, explained the significance of the flag, urged the observance of non-violence, and appealedfor unity in their endeavour to secure freedom for India.

The Madras District Congress committees (Tamil and Andhra) celebrated 'Independence Day. Batches of congressmen and women went in procession to various centres shouting congress slogans. Students in the city as well as those in Tambaram went in procession carrying flags and placards. Batches of people spinning on the takli, carried charkas.

A largely attended meeting was held in Loane square, Muslims and members of the local socialist Party also attended. After singing of national songs Mr. O.P. Ramaswami Reddiar, President, Tamil Nad Congress Committee hoisted the congress flag. He asked the gathering to follow the lead of Mr. Gandhi. He read the independence Pledge, which was taken by the audience.

Several meetings were held at several places like T. Nagar, Mylapore, Tambaram etc. Similar meetings were held at coimbatore and other mofussil centres.

Indendpendence day was celeberated p
yesterday in several parts of the cit

Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar addressin
at T.Nagar said that the resignation of th
not without effect for even the conserv

people who were now ruling India had promised to change the constitution. The Viceroy had said with care and caution worthy of his position, that India would soon be granted Dominion Status of the best minister Statute variety. He was confident that Britain would keep her promise to India this time. But even if per chance India was again disappointed she still knew her to secure her objective.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 1-7-1940.

THE REAL LEADERS.

One phrase in a speech made by Mr. C.Rajagop[alachariar] at a meeting in Madras on Sunday stands out from the rest. He said: "If any real good is to come to this country, the real leaders of the country should run the Government." That statement prompts the question; "Who are the real leaders?" Mr. Gandhi? He has been absobbed from the leadership of congress Policy because the working committee feel that he does not interpret the mind of the people. Who else? Not Pandit Behru, with his learnings towards Sovietisation. Nor Mr. Jinnah, with his dreams of partitioning India into communal States. Who then are the real leaders of India? Are they not to be found among those who, recognising the peril in which world events have placedthis country, are resolved to sink all differences in a united effort to prepare India for whatever may come? Are not those who exhort our young men to offer their services in the Defence Forces,to labour in munitiors andallied factories, and to refrain from anything calculated to hamper India's preparations, are not they the real interpreters of the popular will, the real leaders of India?

There is no time for contentions politics. Events more too rapidly for the lesurely discussion of claims and differences. Only one thing matters now, the preservation of liberties already won, and the keeping open of [...]y for further progress. All else is unimportant. [...] Hitler triumphs all that for which politicians [...] and communities strive will be swept away befo[...] of tyrannical orders. Freedom of speech, of [...] of thePress, Personal liberty, and those che[...]

of the Press, personal liberty, and those cherished rights which politicians would incorporate in a constitutionally recognised charter, all will go, and we will be left slaves of ruthless bullies, who believe themselves supermen and the coloured racesless than human.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 23-7-1940.

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C.R. EXPLAINS.

The latest annotation of the congress working committee's resolution concerning the war comes from Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar. He tells us that "The declaration of freedom that we demand does not mean a withdrawal from the British plan of defence. It means a free alliance and a partnership in a free atmosphere." This explanation will be widely welcomed. For the omission of all referece to the war, and concentration on Indian defence, in the working Committee's resolution has aroused anxiety in many congressmen. Let the Party should be preparing to cut a drift from the British effort to preserve democracy and freedom. Mr. C.Rajagoapalachari assures us that there was no ground for such anxiety; but earlier comments by Pandit Nehru were not so comforting. On the contrary, they suggested that India,under congress control, might decide to adopt neutrality as her policy, and to leave Britain to fight alone. If the working committee at its next meeting ratifies Mr. Rajagopalachariar's interpretation by a formal resolution, much harm will be undone We should however, welcome a recognition of the undesirability of conditions the Party's help in any way, for in these critical times it is useless to speak of conditions precedent to cooperation. To do so shows the very distruct with which Mr.Rajagopalachariar charges Britian, and delays the preparations which India's peace and security demand.

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THE MAIL. Dt. 28-5-1941.

MR. GANDHI URGED TO CALL OFF SATYAGRAHA.

An earnest plea that Mr. Gandhi should be persuaded to call off the Satyagraha movement, and allow the congress to resume normal political activity, and guide the country by bold and much needed leadership was made by Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari, M.L.A., Madras, addressing a public meeting on the present political situation last night. He said that the Congress having now chosen to give up office and pursue a policy of counting arrest, youth leagues had a great work to perform in ed educating the masses. The congress had ceased normal politcal activity now, but he urged that the Congress must resume normal politcal activity in the best interests of the country.

He continued saying that a change in policy in India was needed, and the need to bring increased pressure on Britian was greater. The congress should change its tactics, and impress on Mr. Gandhi the need for change.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 28-5-1941.

JUSTICE PARTY AND THE WAR :

SUPPORT FOR BRITAIN ASSURED.

Mr. E.V.Ramaswami Naicker who spoke for nearly two hours, dwelt oat length on the obolition of caste based on occupations. There was no caste system for wbrders.

Speaking on the war he said that the Justice Party always supported it, and that the congress anti-war movement had no weight. Though there was much loose talk about the outcome of the war among certain sections of the people he was confident that final victory would go to great Britian.

Continuing he said that the Statement of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India, had beeh logical and Satisfactory. They would not be justified in supportin the claim, that congress represented the Indian nation.

He informed the audience that the Muslim league would be supporting their Party, and Mr. Jinnah had given an assurance to that effect.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 6-3-1941 . 480

GANDHI APPROVES NEW FORM OF SATYAGRAHA IN TAMIL NADU.

Door todoor anti-war propaganda by congress satyagrahis has been permitted by Mahatma Gandhi, provided the residents do not object," stated Mr. R.S.Sankaran, Secretary of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee after he saw Mahatma Gandhi today. He added that this form of Satyagraha would be resorted to from next week.

Mr. Sankaran said Mahatma Gandhi had approved another list of 1,607 Congressmen to offer Satyagraha. He said 140 satyagrahis from the South including five women who now marching towards Delhi. Mahatma Gandhi had insisted that Satyagraha from the South should learn Hindi if they were to march towards Delhi.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 5-1-1942.

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PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITIES MUST BE REVIVED.

Mr. Satyamurthi's Appeal at Congress Conference.

Presiding over the Madras District Fouth Circle Political Confernce at Royapettah today Mr. S.Satyamurthi urged the resumption of parliamentary activities by the Congress irrespective of the response of the British Government to the working committee's gesture.
Mr.Satyamurthis felt strongly that the best way to settle the Hindu- Muslim question was not to carry on "long distance conpensations", but for Hindus and Muslims, hwerever they were, to administer public affairs in asuch a manner that Hindu minorities might learn more and more to believe in the justice and generosity of their Muslim countrymen and Muslims Vice Versa.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pundit opened the conference. She said events, which till now, they could view more or less as disinterested spectators, were drewing nearer and closer to them. At any moment they might become involved in the drama, itself and couldnot merely take the position of mere specatators.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 6-1-1942.

RAJAGOPALACHARIAR ON CONGRESS OFFER OF COOPERATION.

People should organise for defence, Japan's aggression and Success will be halted.

Addressing at the close of the Congress conference he explained the resolution of the congress working committee passed at Bardoli. The main object, he declared was to clear the obstacles in the way of cooperation with Britain in the war effort, if the congress demand was conceded, and to make the position of the congress understandable to the world outside. If Britain refused to concede the demand, the congress could not be blamed for not having done the right thing at this moment.

"Congress wanted to make it perfectly clear that it would extend full help, notwithstanding its adherence to non-violence, if Britain would do the right thing. This offer was made when France fell and was repeated now when Japan was knocking at India's doors. He said that he replied to Gandhi that he represents the real feelings of the people of that Madras would follow him. Here, he asked the audience whether he was correct, and the whole gathering answered with a loud applause.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 25-1-1942.

M MAKE INDIA RESPONSIBLE FOR HER OWN DEFENCE.

Mr. Rajagoapalachariar's appeal and explanation His this can immediately be achieved.

Addressing a large gathering at the Gokhale Hall last evening Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar assured the British that at this eleventh hour the leadersof the congress were ready to undertake the responsibility to convert the apatetic mass of Indian people into a life nation, and to convert the intelligensia into a responsible, trustful people, and take charge of the defence of thecountry, if responsibility was trasferred to their hands. He warned the people against scare mongering and getting into a panic , which was infectious and a more in a vicious circle."

The meeting was arranged under the auspices of the Madras District Congress Committee, and Mr. S.Satyamurthi presided.

Mr. Rajagoapalachariar said that today the only way for Britian to save her responsibility and honour as well as the responsibility and honour of India was to transfer full responsibility to the people of India.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 15-7-1942.

JOIN THE INDIAN ARMY.

ONLY WAY TO MEET JAP MENACE.

C.R. Explains Danger to the Country:

"Lut everybody realise the danger that is threatening their beloved country of ours. If anybody thinks that there is no danger to this country from Japan, he is extremely foolish. The country is now actually in great danger" observed Mr.C.Rajagopalachariar former congress Premier of Madras, addressing a largely attended public meeting.

Mr.Rajagopalachariar said:"If a Japanese Government is established in India, the people of this country will be treated as slaves, and be asked to do things required for Japan. There will be ~~ri moxxmixkng~~ no right of speech for anybody and lbourers will be treated in a most miserable manner. The enemy is now marking time, becuase his hands are engaged elsewhere. He must be opposed at any cost, and this is not the time to be indifferent." To oppose the enemy there was only one way,namely by joining the Army."

Talking of Pakistan, he said, he had apposed the scheme when there was no Japanese danger, but now he supported it since internal unity was the utmost essential need and the menance of Japanese invasion was everyday coming nearer.

If t
come to know that there are in India 40
ready to fight the aggressors, united an
man, woman and child, they will never d
they will realise that it will be immposs
to conquer this country.

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THE MAIL- DT. 14-2-1943.

GOVERNMENT URGED TO RELEASE MR. GANDHI.

Organisations in many part of the country, have sent messages to New Delhi urging the Central Government immediately to release Mr. Gandhi because of the danger to his life as a result of the fast he had undetaken.

C.R.'s Statment:.

"The Gandhi-Viceroy correspondence released to the Press from time to time makes it quite clear that since Gandhiji read the news about destruction and acts of violence, his reaction against them was put down in his letters to the Viceroy in pretty specific terms. It is surprising that the Government of India did not care publish Gandhiji's disapproval of such acitivities at that time. Had they done so it would have had an immediate effect in stopping the progress of sabotage and violence, and there would have been no cause for the terrible repression consequent thereon."

"Rt. Hon. V.S.Srinivasa Satriar's plea:

"The first idea that accured to me after I had read the correspondence between the Viceroy and the Mahatma has been fortified by what I have read since. The Government of India will do good to themselves and the country if they release the Mahatma and other leaders unconditionally and thus make possible a fresh effort to resolve the deadlock". says the Rt. Hon. V.S.Srinivasa Sastriar, in the course of a reply to Mr.C.Rajagoapalachariar, expressing his inability to attend the leaders conference at Delhi in Feb. 8, owing to infirmity.

Sir. S.Radhakrishnan, in the course of a statement said that he was unable to attend the

of a statement said th t he was unable to attend the conference, because of ill health and local conditions in the University. "If there is any statesmanship left in the government be added, "this is the opportunity for bringing about a reconciliation.

Mr. T.R. Venkatarama Sastri writes, "The release of Gandiji by reason of its elaims the immediate attention of the government. But more than that is needed the release of others in Jail, and the resoncisderation and reopening of negotiations for a settlement of the present impasse."

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THE MAIL. Dt. 20-8-1943.

WHO ARE NATIONALISTS?

Sir C.R. Reddy, in a letter published voices views that have long needed expression by a represenatative India. He was provoked to do so by a remark by Mr. C. Rajagoapalachariar at a meeting in Madras to the effect that the Government of Great Britian and their agents in this country- by which he meant, apparently the Central and Provincial Governments- had decided in their own minds, that Nationalist India was pro Asias. If, as Sir C.R. Reddy points out we accept the implications of this Statemment, if follows that anti-Axis and prowar effort individuals in this country are either not nationalists, or are not so regarded by the Governments. The absurdity of the contention is manifest.

It is the fashion in certain quarters to condemn off hand all who do not accept Mahatma Gandhi's extreme views. His followers, among whom are to be found the most intoleeent of all political elements, refust to give credit for patriotism to any who need the voice of their own conscience. Independence of thought is a anathema to the more exteme of the Mahatma's admirers, though he himself has not publicly sought to deny to others that freedom of choice which he strongly claims for himself. The intolerance among the lesser disciples of the Mahatma has frequently provoked him to rebuke them but it continues, and is nowhere more evident than in the writings and utterances of those who claim to speak for him, or to propagate his political and social gospels.

It is against such intolerance that Sir. C.R.Reddy protests.. It is, he says, a creial change to assert

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that the governments in India and Britian seek the support of non-Nationalists only. Those Governments have this shortcomings, as we have had occasion to remark from time to time, but we do not believe them quilty of such supreme folly. For from ignorming Nationalists, whether they be members of the congreqs or not, governments in India and Britian have gone out their way to seek their assistance. Those Nationalists who honestly believe, as does Sir C.R.ed that "there can be no chance, of India's freedom if the Allies do not win , have support the United Nations' war effort, which means that they have sriven unceasingly to increase India's contribution to that effort . That, in doing so, they have the support of the majority of their countrymen, is proved by the magnitude of India's contributions, the amazing frowth of her armed forces, the splendid triumphs of her soldering on the field of battle, the no less not worthy achievements of her poineers in many theatres of war, and the remarkable war output of her workers.

It is the fashion in certain political circels which arrogate to themselves the title "National" to stigmatise all those who contribute to India's war effort as mercenaries . Doing so they affront the patriotism millions, and they do it with impunity because they know that those they insult one too busy to deal with them as they deserve. Sir. C.R.Reddy and millions more who arecontributing to India's war effort in the post-war settlement of the word's affairs India's claims to equality with the other free nations on the commonwealth shall be recognised, are the true Nationalists. They labour for what they desire. By their efforts, their sacrifices, and their wi l to win they are making ready the way for

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India's attainment of that freedom to which others only render lip service," while striving for a National Government says Sir C.R.Reddy, "let us not refust or discourage war effort in the meanwhile." If we cannot get all we want immediately, let us give hostages to fortune by not refraining from helping to make the goal attainable. Above all let whose who differ from prowar effort Nationalists not deny to the latter the tone of country to which they themselves lay claim Self interest, if nothing else should counsel politicians seeking popular support to refrain from caluminating those who favour, hereafter, they will assuredly seek.

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THE MAIL. Dt, 29-6-1944.

BAN ON UNVEILING OF PORTRIATS.

MADRAS: The Government have directed that portriats, statues and busts of persons detained under the Defence of India Rules or Restriction and Detention Ordinance, should not be exhibited or unveiled in any building or premises of any local body, incluiding the Corporation of Madras. Violation of this Order will be considered as support for the Congress Civil Disobedience Movement.

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THE MAIL- Dt. 23-11-1944.

COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE.

Those who desire the independence of Dravaida Nad will be content with no half measures. Mr. Jinnah may be willing to temporise, but not Mr. E.V.R. Naicker. The Dravida Nad of his conception would be an independent State, having as its boundaries the present limits of the Madras Presidency, and if some should express surprise at this summary treatment of the Andhra's claim to self government Mr. Naicker would retort that the Andhras are also Dravidians, and, therefore rightly incorporated. Whether the Andhras would be given local self-government in independent Dravaida Nad is not revealed. That they would demand it is certain.

Independent Dravida Nad would, Mr. Ramaswami Naicker told a Madras audience, be a soveriegn state. Neither the Governor nor the Viceroy would have authority over the new State except as the King's representative. Presumably the Justice Party leader would be content with the status of a Dominion for his independent Dravida Nad, else there would be no place therein for either a Governor or a Governor_General. There would, of course, be no place whatever for a Viceroy in such a State . So completely does this conception of independent Dravida Nad sever this Presidency from the rest of India that citizens of other parts of their country would be regarded as foreigners would be subjected to the same passport restrictions as are imposed upon citizens of other countries. On goods entering Dravida Nad tr-i[illegible] -tions would be imposed,

[illegible] South I-

wealth in the name of Commerce, Industry, or religion. Since one of the fundamental aims of the advocates of an independent Dravida Nad is the abolition of social inequalities and inequaities, social legislation will be introduced to effect that purpose. Neither Mr.Naicker nor any other speaker appears to have dealt with the complex issue of defence, or the still more complicated problem of Independent Dravida Nad's relations with other countries, including the rest of India.

Some will dismiss this new Dravidian evangel as a form of midsummer madness. Others will proclaim it a political stunt to win back for its chief apostle some of his lost popularity. But it is foolish to dismiss any manifestation of popular discontent summarily. As one speaker at the Madras meeting remarked, though there is no force and sanction behind the demand for a seperate Dravida Nad at present, it may gather force and power in the same way as the once devided idea of Pakistan has done. It is always a mistake to underestimate the potency of an idea, more especially when that idea is contended to appeal directly to the pride and self esteem of millions.

The advocates of independence for Dravida Nad do not claim that the Dravidians are superhuman, on the contrary, they contend that they are ordinarymen and women cherishing the aspirations of ordinary men and women, but differing from the rest of their kind in that for centuries past their hopes have been frustrated, and that they have been kept in a state of intellectual and social subjection by the machinations of the Aryans" [illegible] ntment cherished by many [illegible] e for

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Dravida Nad find fertile soil for the ~~the~~ seed they sow. It may be that their work may be undone by their own extravagances, and that in the end the robust commonsense of a policy of all India unity may defeat them. Ridicule and scorn will not. They appeal to sentiments too depply rooted for laughter of contempt to frustrate their purposes.

Those who would counter the preachers of this new seperatist gospel would do well to direct their attention to the causes that make it appeal to many in South India. They will, if they are wise, admit the right of all communities, classes, and castes to equality of opportunity, economic, social, and political. They will not attempt to deny, whether by imputation or action, that right to any. To the schedule classes they would accord as high respect and honour as to the highest castes, so that resentment may be burn within any breast, however humble. Above all, there should be no attempt by the intellectually favoured to secure control of the sources of power, to obtain a monopoly of administrative office. In this way, the tendency to seperation, observable in North as in South India, in Bengal as in Madras, may be contrasted, and each feel that his destiny would be brighter in a United India than in a seperated part.

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EXTRACT FROM THE MADRAS MAIL.

CONGRESS MAJORITY ASSURED.

27th March, 1946.

Now that a Congress Party majority is assured in the Madras Legislative Assembly few can have expected anything else - specutation is rife concerning the personnel of the Ministry it will be asked to form. Who will be the Primee Minister? Who will be the Finance Minister, and who will be chosen to administer the supremely important nation building departments? So far the Congress Party, if it has reached any decision on these important questions, has kept it secret. There is much kiteflying. The number of cabinet makers is great, but they are all about equally ~~ill~~ informed. One thing only seems to be fairly certain, the Prime Minister this time will be from Andhradesa. This expectation is based on an understanding reached, it is said, when the 1937 Minister was formed.

Most citizens, however, are less interested in the personnal of the new Cabinet than anxious that it should measure up to the great tasks awaiting it. No one pretends that administering this Presidency duing the next five years will be an easy matter. It is not enough for a Ministry ~~en~~ to have its coffers full, the Ministry must be capable of t... the jobs before it with effeciency. The Pr... does not want a Cabinet of Zealots. Such... more harm than good. As we saw during t... Ministerial interlude, much mischief ... those whose Zeal for a cause ontrum... The post war years call less for d...

than for progress along will tried paths. The Presidency needs far more Ministerial attention to matters affecting the wellbing and uplift of the masses. It its resources are frittered away in social experiments, no one will in the end he a whit better off.

It is probable, may certain, that the broad outlines of Ministerial policy will be decided by the Congress Parliamentary Board and that, in consequence, the Ministry in Madras will be expected to conform to measures with hich some, at least, of its members do not wholly agree. If so, we trust that they ill speak their minds. If Madras has a good Ministry af capable individuals, men of wisdom and sound judgement, this presidency will be happy, and will go forward. If, however, the Ministry merely responds antomatically to orders issued by those who cannot possibly know the peculiar requirements of this Province, the Presidency's lot will be most unhappy.

THE DECISION MADE.

23rd April, 1946.

By a substantial majority, Mr. T. Prakasam has been chosen leader of the Congress Party in the Madras Legislature. As a Consequence, he has been invited by His Excellency the Governmoent to assist in forming a Council of Ministers. This has been ~~invida~~ indicated the claim of Madras Congress Legislators to the right to choose their own leader uninfluenced by directores and dictations, from the Congress High Command. Thus, too, have the Madras ~~High~~ Congress Legislators established the reality of that autonomy which the Congress High Command has declared to be the right and the possession of all Provincial Congress bodies. There will inevitable be different opinions about the choice now made. Mr. T. Prakasam is that robust type of politicians which inevitable makes enemies as well as friends, but that the latter outnumber the former is proved by the length of time during which he has held positions of leadership in the Congress Party, both in South India, and in the Party huraracby.

Now that he has been chosen lead
Prakasam takes up the most different tas
ever issued, the formation of a cabinet
his colleagues Mr. Prakasam will doubt
assistance fromall in a position to
is wise he will not confine his sear
who are members of his own Party.
necessary for him to choose his M
Party

Party, but there are many outside it who
an help him to evaluate amight the fitness
of individuals for cabinet rank, and their capacity
to do the work that Ministers will be required,
in the coming difficult years, to perform.
The Ministers will be responsible to the Legislature, and it is desirable that those that chosen
as Ministers have qualities that will command
the allegiance of the elected. Too much reliance
upon the Party whip is undesirable and unwise.
Used too frequently, and in causes that do
not cammond the ready assent of the elected
representatives, the whip can become the
intrm instrument of revolt, and not infrequently
does. Mr. Prakasam will need all the support
and assistance he can secure from the Legislature
and from the constituencies that elected it,
and he will do well to see that his colleagues
are men, and Women for women should be in this
first postwar cabinet-who have commanded themselves to their colleagues by unselfish
service and devotion to the people's interests.

Some commentators has assumed that
the new Ministry should include all the ex-Ministers who have been reelected. We see no
justification for that assumption. . Those
ose ideas were reactionary despite their verbal
as were reactionary despite their verbal
rence to progressive programmes should
t out of the new Ministry. . We shall
d that the coming Ministry must adhere to
lished programme of the Party. And Mr.
new Ministry must contain representatives

of important minority communities. In choosing there, be should seek individuals who have the confidence of the minority as a whole, not were "YESMEN". One of the requirements of the Statute is that the Council of Ministers shall beable "to command a stable majority in the Legislature". It may be argued that Mr. Prakasam is assured such a majority, but that contention presupposes a following of one mind. The proceedings leading to the choice of Mr. Prakasam as a leader show plainly enough that the majority in the Legislature is not of one mind. It is devided, and uncertain. It is, therefore, all the more necessary that Mr. Prakasam choose goodmen and true for his colleagues, not time servers, or place - hunters, but men of public spirit, ready to serve the people and not greedly of power for powers sake.

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MADRAS HAS A MINISTRY.

30th April 1946.

After nearly 6½ years of section 93 administration, Madras today has a Ministry. By and large it is a good Ministry, representative of the component parts of the Presidency there are five tamils, five telugus, and one Kanarese. The ceded Districts are represented in the Ministry, and widely seperated parts of Tamilnad, and Andhradesa. Its members parts of Tamilnad and Andhradesa. Its members are experienced men, well passed inpolitics, most of them having been in jail for their political convictions at one time or the other, and they command the respect of large followings. The composition of the cabinet has confounded many of the prophets, especially those who believed that they insisting upon the rights conferred by antonomy, Mr. T. Prakasam has estranged powerful interests.

Mr. Prakasam has given himself the extremely important public, Home, Police, Food, and Finance portfobios. The latter two alone would be more than enough for one man, and we may expect Finance to be the sole concern of one Ministry. At present the Ministry has no need to be anxious concerning the Presidency's finances, but it is obvious that if but a fraction of the reforms adumbrated in this or that Congress quarter is undertaken, the holder of the Finance, portfolio will be hardpressed. And food subsidies are certain to require an increasing share of the

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exchequers balances. Mr. Prakasam is anxious to leave nothing undone to safeguard the people of this Presidency from hunger. The only indication be has so far given of his intentions concerns the release of political prisoners and the refund of pumitive taxes.

As expected Mr. V.V. Giri is labour Minister in the new Government, thus resuming a portfolio be laid down in 1939. In addition, he will be responsible for industries, Electricity, Cooperation, Planning, - Forests and Cinchona. This is too much for one individual, and we may expect a pruing of his many responsibilities when his two new colleagues are appointed. Mr. giri makes no secret that his sympathies lie with labour, yet he showed himself capable of listening to the other side during his previous tenure of office, and of paying respect to its point of view. A most interesting choice is that of Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmipathi as Health Minister. This is the first time that this Presidency has had a Lady Minister, and none who knows her can doubt that Mrs. Lakshmipathi will take to her new tasks a receptive mind and a determination to serve that people. If, as we expect, she holds fast to progressive politics, plans with a view to the future and puts Public Health in that prominent position in the programme of the Government to which it is entitled, then Madras will have good reason to deem itself fortunate. In the past Public [illegible]alth and Medic[illegible] have been somewhat neglected. Durin[illegible] [illegible]e last Ministeral regime, the Departments [illegible]med by the pursuit of bad and cheap po[illegible] Mrs. Lakshmipathi, we one persuaded, will ha[illegible]ow of these

Medical facilities of the very best quality for the masses will, be believe, be her aim.

The Premier has done will not to complicate the task of the Minister for education by giving him other portfolias. Mr. Avanasilingam Chettiar will be able to devote the whole of his attention to what is, in many respects, the most important of all portfolias. The plans already made for the extention and elaboration of education in this Presidency require for their fulfilment wise direction and perseveing effort. The new Education Minister has an exceptional opportunity to make for himself a lasting population. It is satisfactory to ~~fa~~ find ~~a~~ that the Law and allied portfolias have been entrusted to Mr. K. Bshyam a prominent lawyer, and an Indian Christian and a member of the Scheduled castes have, following precedent, been entrusted with important tasks. Mr. Daniel Thomas has a Unique Opportunity as Minister for Local Administration, to improve the conditions of the people in a way most closely affecting them. On the whole, we repeat, the new Ministry is deserving of a fair trial, and the full cooperation of the people.

ARRESTS IN MADRAS HARTAL.

21st June, 1946.

A partial hartal was observed in the city today in protest against the arrest of Pandit Nehru by the Kashmir State authorities. Only a few shops remaind closed this morning and these were mostly in the outlying areas, but as the day advanced more and more shops put up their shtlers, and by midafternoon the hartal was practically complete.

A total of 23 people had been arrested for leading processions without a lieance, or for disorderly conduct in connsion with the hartal. Following the distribution of leaflets issued by certain anonyous "Congressities" gold and Silver markets in the city were closed.

Members of the Madras Students, Organisation also went round the city in a van with loud speakers and bearing placards" Down with the Princes, and re Release Pandit Nehru".

Transport also became effected during the day. Schoolboys were arrested at Georgetown, Triplicane and at other places. A procession of tramway workers which passed along the Poonam[illegible] Road was stopped by Police. *Persons arre[illegible]* the course of the day *included of* [illegible] the political parties.

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At Madura the situation is described as tense and an order under section 14 he has been promulgated until July 4. Reports of hartals have also come in from Bangalore, Sivaganga, Quilon and Ernakulam.

ZAMINDARI REFORM.

18th July, 1946.

The announcement in the United Provinces Legislative Assembly by the Ministry that the Government propose to implement the Congress plan for the abolition of the Zamindari system indicates the possibility of similar action being taken by the Congress Ministers in other Provinces. Although the policy now laid down by the Congress Party is more equaitable than that pursued between 1937 and 1939, especially in Madras, it should be carried out only very gradually. A manifesto published by the All India Congress Committee before the general e elections in 1936 declared that "it (Congress) stands for a reform of the system of land tenure, and revenue and rent, and an equitable adjustment of the burden on agricultural land . . . ." This was the basis of the Bill framed by the Madras Estates Land Act Committee, presided over by Mr. T. Prakasam, declaring that the ryot was the owner of the soil in the Zamindars, and that the rent fixed at the permanent settlement of 1802 was unalterable, and could not be raised by the Zamindar.) The Bill, denying the Zamindars proprietorship, made no provision for the payment of compensation to him for the withdrawal of rights now enjoyed.

A more liberal policy was outli ed ith the statement issued by the Congress Wor king Com ittee in December, 1945. "The Reform of the land system which is so urgently needed in India i which involves t removal of the intermediaries betwee the peasant and state. The rights of such i rim should, therefo be acquired on payment of ble compensation".

It will not, however be possible for the Governments in the Country to acquire the Zamindars rights without spendinglarge sums of money, more urgently needed for various services and development schemes. It is possible to makegood the revenue lost by the state as a result of the continuance of the permanent settlement, by levying a tax on agricultural income- a proposal originated by the Congress Ministry in Madras and embodied in a bill published by the Government in March 1945, but later scheduled And the interests of the ryots can be safeguarded by further legislation removing proved defects in the Working of the present system, and providing for a standard of management by proprietors of estates, such as that recommended by the Famine Inquiry Commission in 1945.

A HISTORICAL CHANGE.

26th August 1946.

Nothing can detract from the historical importance of the pending change in the character of the Central Government. For the first time in the recorded history a representative Government will administer this past country. The work of consolidation was accomplished by the British, and it is to their desire to preserve the unity of this great empire that we must attribute, in part at least, the absence of the Muslim League from the Interim Government. Pandit Nehru and his colleagues will administer an India greater in area, more consolidated, and more advanced in every respect than any indigenous Government has administered before. That is a great advantage.

The new Interim Government will spare no effort to preserve and increase that advantage, for upon their doing so will depend in large measure the future happiness and prosperity of this great land. Their tasks are not easy. They will take office at a time when this country is threatened with a food shortage of unprecedented magnitude, and disaster can only be avoided by the cooperation of all citizens, irrespective of caste, class or community. Yet they are denied the cooperation of the great All India Muslim League, representing the past majority of Muslims. No purpose is served by underating the representative character of the League, or belittling the gravity of its decision to stand apart from the new Government. Had the League found it possible to participate,

or had Pandit Nehru been able to achieve, a compromise of the conflicting claims of the Congress Party and the League, India would have started upon the final stage of her road to freedom and independence under the most promising auspices.

Behind the new Interim Government stand, the majority of the people of this country and those composing it have the sincere good wishes of the world beyond India. But in India there is the undisguised history of the Muslim League, its threat of active opposition manifested in the form of "direct action". The new Government will hereafter have to combat methods which, in the past, some of their number have openly espoused and practised. Doing so willnot be easy, through justified by the higher interests of the country, and it may be fraught with much, that is deplorable.

The future wellbeing of India and the happiness of her many millions, depend upon the wisdom and sound judgement displayed by her leaders, irrespective of this community at this juncture. Now, we are convinced, desires a repetition of the horrors that have blackened the fair name of Calcutta, none ~~would~~would wilfully inflame the passions that gave rise thereto.

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Upon the shoulders of the Congress leaders in particular rests a great, a stupendous responsibility. They can well this great land into a closer unity by wise and considerate leadership and administration, by refraining from all that is provacative. And since nothing can lesson the importance of their position in the affairs of India, we trust they will not cease from efforts to bring into their Interim Government and dissentient Muslims, so that Indias more forward to freedom may be acclaimed by all who live in and love her.

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C.RAJAGOPALACHARIAR CONGRATULATES BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON KEEPING PROMISE TO HAND OVER POWER.

MR. Rajagopalachariar, thanked his hosts who organised a party in his honour. The formation of the Interim Government, he said, was an event of momentous siginificance. He continued that one section of their countrymen was nursing a grievance and observing mourning. No one should cause needless bitterness to their brothers. The time would soon come why they would all jointly celebrate the down of freedom. He added that Mr. Jinnah has miscalculated. He had not expected Britain to set up to her word. He though that "Old Lord Pettrick Lawrence" and the British Government would not have the grit or courage to carryout what had been promised.

But the Secretary of State had shown rare courage and strength of purpose in honouring his governments word. He had the courage to do what the Government said it would, instead of taking shelter under the unusual protest of disagreement among the people of India. That was an even greater act than the acts of sacrifice made by many Indians in the cause of their own freedom It was now up to Indians leaders and people, to make this freedom full and real, and to shape their countr[illegible] destiny after then own hearts desire.

Some articles had said there would be tr[illegible] if Britian transferred power to Indians

That was the objection raised a interested quarters against the transfer of power. But then, others gave the answer that, though there might be civi disturbances, these could be dealt with easily and power had to be transferred. That the British Government did so, stood to their credit.

Mr. Jinnah spoke of a conspiracy to bypass the League. There was no such conspiracy anywhere except in his own mind. Now, Mr. Jinnah saw his mistake, but was unwilling to own it and tried to blame others.

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MADRAS PREMIER WARNS COMMUNISTS POLICE
NOT TO BE BLAMED FOR GOLDEN ROCK FIRING.

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MADRAS.

8th September, 1946.

"I warn the Communists to be very careful in their activities in d ealing with their own people. We have been trying our best to put reaon into them, considering their inexperience, and trying to make theme behave properly towards their own countrymen and not to exploit the workers, compelling, the Government and the police to take action," said Mr. T. Prakasam, the Premier of Madras, replying last evening in the Madras Legislative Assembly. The Premier said, the police, faced as they were by a riotors mob armed with deadly weapons had no alternative except to open fire to saw themselves.

Proceeding Mr. Prakasam said the Golden Rock strike was practically broken, when the Communist leaders roused the mobs. A letter from the Trichinopoly Town Congress Committee on September, 2 stated that the speeches made by communists leaders at Public meetings were v violent and abusive, and that they uncouraged acts of violence.

TEACHING OF HINDUSTANI.

22nd October, 1946.

The Madras Government's decision to make the provision of facilities for the teaching of Hindustani in high schools compulsory is bound to result in much waste of money. It is a wise policy that the study of Hindustani by the pupils should, as the Government have resolved, be made optional. The carriculam becomes more attractive when it allows a wide choice of subjects to meet the needs of ~~ppu~~ pupils with varied aptitudes, or drawn fromdifferent places. The present Government are following the policy adopted by their predecessors in 1937-39. Having made the teaching of Hindustani compulsory informs I to III in Secondary Schools, the Congress Government 1940 made it optional in those classes, as a result of the public agitation against compulsion. They also encouraged the introduction of Hindustani as an optional subjects for forms IV to VI, during the time of the Advisers. the Government approved a more definite proposal of the Director of Public Instruction to introduce Hindi as an Optional subject in forms IV to VI if there was a demand for it.

It was then ordered that the salary of teachers en aged in teaching Hindustani should be taken in account in Calculating the grants for schools. Thus was financially a sound procedure and should have been continued. As it is, the Government went arrangements made for Hindustani classes in all schools, and grants paid towards them, even ~~in~~ where such classes are not in demand, and do not function. In many places the parents do not ~~function.~~ ask schools to teach their children Hindustani. Last year, for example

for example out of approximately 33,000 S.S.L.C. candidates, less than 400 took Hindustani as a second language or as an optional subject. That being so, there is no need to employ Hindustani teachers in all schools. If more money is available, let it be utilised to increase the grants to teachers actually engaged in teaching one or other subject, including Hindustani, instead of being spent on retaining any who perforce must remain idle.

5.25

THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

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5th November 1946.

It has been left to Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar to make the long awaited statement concerning the Interim Governments policy towards the Services. Since the change over from bureaucratic to representative Government at the Centre, some politicians and publicist have sought to pay off old scroes, by attacking the public services as a wholem and in some cases, individua public servants. These services, and those who compose them, have been represented to be corrupt, unreliable, partisan, and generally speaking ineffecient The spleen of the frustrated has been vented upon then, not in the public enterest, for a public interest could possible be served by such wholesale condemnation, but in pursint of private or Party vendetlas. No one preten that those who man our public services are all saints, like every other collection of individuals they/their have sinners, some more guilty than others. But they have hitherto done their job and their continuance in their posts in proof that non has been found to prove charges unfitting them to continue in the public service.

Most of us are prove to divert to the instrument of to public law, order, ordinance, or statute the vexation caused by its operation. Thus we fret and fame against this or that control; and blame-caused the officer administering it for the delay caused by the extravagant machinery created by

the administration, or required by legislation. So the Public Servant, and through him the Public Service gets a bad name. The official refusing a permit is accused of partison x creas. And these charges are ~~enel~~ echoced, sooneror later, in the Legislature.

Nor are Legislators free from blame. They not infrequently attempt to utilise the Public Services for partison purposes. During a celebrated election in this Province a few years ago changes were publicly made that certain Party candidates, belonging to the Ministry lately in office, had sought to usee subordinate Public Servants as convassing agents. They are so frequently attacked by the frustrated speaks volumes for their loyalty to the public weal, and the refusal of individual. Public servants to be diverted from what they dumright in order to secure an easier time for themselves is proof that, as a whole, the country is well served.

It is common knowledge that at the present moment members of the major public servicesare not little anxious about their future great a changes in the conditions and character of the Services to which they belong have been hinted at, and some politicians ha[illegible] made no secret of their intention to pay off old scores against the services as they exist

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today. These are the disgruntled whom Mr. C. Rajagopalchair approved in his statement in the central Assembly. These are reminded that it is not a desirable thing that the Public Services should be exposed to ridicule and persecutions with every change of masters. Hereafter, it ishoped, India will have at least two powerful political parties bidding for the votes of the enfranchised, and a possible change of Government every five years on so. Nothing could be more deterimental to the wise and careful administration of the country than the creation of a belief in the members of the Public Services that every such change would mean a fresh spate of persecution and indicile, of anxiety and stress. The knowledge that such was likely would deter the best men from entering the Public Service, and leave them to be manned by trimmers and ~~them~~- time servers.

It should be the aim of all political parties and publicists in India to continue to secure for the Services candidates whose competence, integrity, and devotion to the public weal is ~~ina~~ unguestionable,, and upon whose loyalty obedience, and mentality - this last is supremely important, the Government of the day can rely, whatever, its political complexion . Inplicit loyalty and political mentality are essential for democratic Government. For it must be always remembered that in the end all Government rest upon those who man the public Services, as upon them devolues the execution of the policy which the Legislature on the Cabinet intrates and controlss.

EXTRACTS FROM THE "MADRAS MAIL"

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INCOMPREHENSIBLE.

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3rd January, 1947.

The manner in which advacates of Hindi are forcing the use of this language on non Hindi speaking citizens is giving rise to consederable discontent. If they were wise, Hindi, propagandists would desist from such compulsion. It does not prom te harmony and understanding between the different linguistic areas and by creating resistance will defeat whatever purpose the propagators of Hindi seek to serve A few days ago a North India spokesman declared that within four years Hindi would be the language of the Courts, and those who could not speak t would be at a disadvantage. Such warning , addressed to non Hindi speaking peoples are provacation and aggravating. What is wrong with Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanareese? They are ancient and honourable languages, outdating the upstart Hindi. How they not as goad a claim to be the language of the courts as Hindi, in South India at any rate? And what of Bengalore? Is that to be a parriah among Indian languages, kept outside all Government offices, courts, Legislatures? By their numbers, speakers of Hindustani have compelled Hindi propagandists to recognise its existence and the acknowledge it as a nationa language. Within their several linguistic areas, each lamguage used by millions in this country is a national language, and the inhabitants of those areas are justified in claiming recognition of that fact.

Moreover, it is clear from a statement made by Mr. T.T. Krishnamachariar on Thursday evening that

those who claim a monopoly of Hindi are not all so familiar with its use as their claims for it, would warrant. Complaining, rightly, that speakers from South India were handicapped by the decision to conduct the proceedings of the constituent Assembly in Hindi, Mr. Krishnamachariar declared that he felt that speakers in Hindi were struggling for the right words to express their thoughts in that language. It was not, obviously, the natural vehicle of their thoughts. These would find expression much more readily and clearly in English, but the latter language is, for obscure political reasons, anachomstic in this day of India's liberation, anathem to many who force Hindi upon their fellore country men. So the work of the Constituent assembly is handicapped by big bigoted zealots, who are anxious to exploit on oppirtunity to establish Hindi as the lingua franca of all India. It will not be that until they simplify its alphabet and countrive in other ways to make it popular among the masses. These katter would prefer to learn English, a fact of which they make no secret when questioned.

Wat is necessary, of course, is far some courageous South Indian delegate to insist upon speaking in the language of his area. The President of the C.A. could not fairly refuse him the opportunity, on deny him the right to claim that his speech he interpreted to the other delegates, as also their speeches in Hindi to him. Mr. Krishnamachariar said that

insistance upon the use of Hindi in the C.A. had introduced a discondant note. We can quite believe it, for we can imagine nothing more vexing than to sit for hour after hours listening to others attempting to speaking in a tongue with which they are unfamiliar or endeavouring to follow the few fluent Hindi speakers as they rattled out their sentences at a speed which only a fraction of their hearers could follow.

In the past, South India has suffered greatly from the fact that the seat of the Government of India is in the distant north. With the coming of selfgovernment it was hoped that a new spirit, one of readiness, to know and understand the distant parts of the country, would inform the thinking and activities of the central government. But if the decision to conduct the proceedings of the C.A. in Hindi indicates anything it is that the North and especially the North Central, will continue to ignore the feelings of the South, and to endeavour to impose its will upon the people who livethere. We cannot imagine anything more certain to promote discord, or to stimulate suspicion of the norths intentions. And, too, the desire to keep for the Provinces as Large a measure of power as possible, and to weaken the Central Government to the utmost in order to prevent the domination of distant provinces by those nearest that Government will assuredly increase. Too little attention is paid by Zealots to the psycological reactions they cause when imposing their will upon numerically weaker

groups. In this case, the tendency to resist unifying proposals in the endeavour to preserve what those who live in non-Hindi linguistic a eas v value will be stimulated, and that unity which wise men desire to preserve will be the more grievously imperilled in consequences.

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LATHI CHARGE ON COLLEGE STUDENTS IN CITY.

23rd January, 1947.

Police prohibitory order defied 12 communists arrested after search of offices.

The city police has been mobilised under the orders of the Commissioner of Police to be in readiness to meet any emergency. This follows a Lathi charge on students of a city college today in Triplicane, when they persisted in taking out a procession in defiance of the prohibitory order of the Police Commissioner. 8 Students were injured and 12 others arrested in this incident.

Most students of colleges in the city struck work today, as a protest against the Police firing on student demonstrators in Calcutta recently. Groups of students, carrying badges with the slogan" we salute the viet-Nam" paraded the s streets.

Twelve communists were arrested in the city today under the maintenance of public order ordinance, following widespread searches of the headquarters of the communist Party and Communist controlled labour ~~unaous~~ unions early this morning. On hearing this news the transwaymen decided upon a lightening strike from 11 O' clock.

At BEZWADA:- Five Communistleaders includi editor - Publisher of the 'Prajasakti' were arrested last night.'

24th January 1957.

City students continue to strike. Bid to take out processions failed - The Police were fully mobilised. Sted helmeted patrols were observed. No incidents, however, were reported. A procession of about 120 students was stopped and dispersed by the police peacefully. Most of the students of the city colleges stayed away from their classes, in pursuance of the resolution passed by representatives of the students, as a protest against the alleged use of force by the police in the city yesterday on students.

Students of various colleges met at the Presidency College yesterday evening decided to strike work until their demands were met by the Government. The demands include the release the arrested leaders, the withdrawals of the prohibitory order, and the appointment of non official inquiry Committee to investigate the police lathi charge on the students in the morning.

25th January 1947.

POLICE DRIVE AGAINST COMMUNISTS CONTINUE.

More leaders arrested in Presidency.

The drive against communists and Trade Unanimists, under the public safety Ordinance I of 1947 continues Reports from

mofussil centres show that many leaders have been rounded up, and their residences searched by the police.

In Madras city Mr. K.K. G. Narasimhan, General Secretary of the M.&. S.M. Railway Emplo[yees] Union, and Mr. Sankaranarayanan Pillai, member [of] the All India Trade Union Congress were the lat[est] to be arrested.

Many were arrested in mofussil.

27th January, 1947.

Madras Students call off strike on assurance from Premier. Representatives of the Indian Students Congress Yesterday met Mr. T. [...] Premier, and represented their case to him.

A GRAVE STATEMENT.

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30th January, 1947.

Explaining the reasons for the recently promulgated Madras Public Safety ordinance in the Madras Legislative Assembly on Thursday, the Premier Mr. T. Prakasam revealed a situation in the Presidency so grave as to arouse disquiet in every thinking citizen. He spoke of lands seized, crops looted, of government buildings. attacked, landowners servants murdered, and police in armed canflict with intenched communists. The average citizen willask, "Why is it that we have not hears anything of these things before? They have not been reported in the newspapers they have not been revealed in Government Press communiq es, yet for months post a situation has been developing in this Presidency threatening the stability of the social order and of constitutional Government. The Premier referred to threats by communists to members of the Government, to the recovery of large quantities of weapons from communists resisting the police. Eight communists were killed in one such fight. Communists boasted that they had spies everywhere, the including the Secretariat, and justifying their boast by publishing secret and con idential official papers in their Party newspapers.

The Kisan sabbas adopted a 'scorched earth' po-
and included labourers to imponerish landlords.
Communists organised strikes among industrial
workers, some of which were accompanied with violenc
they did everything possible to make it difficult
for the police to preserve law and order some of
the communists activities were in remote places,
but many were in large certain centres, where
public attention should, and could, have been f
facussed upon their menacing practices. How wa
that so little of the truth was made known? The
Government have said nothing of it. Their
information Department has been unqisely silent
and they have left the poor, illiterate people
for whom Mr. Prakasam rightly expressed some c
to be misled and deceived without effective co
propaganda. There has been a wholly unjustifie
policy of hush-hush about communist activities
in this Presidency, which has enabled the mome
to produce the grave situation described bythe
Premier.

Nor is the subversive propaganda that
brought that situation into existence of recent
origin. The Premier alluded to the fact that
after he was released fron jail in the middle of
1944, he concentrated all his attention on
combating communist activities in the Andhra Are
On his own showing the communist Party Began t
more active after August, 1942, and his o
has been in office ten months should tha
has been in office tem months. Should

has been in office ten months, should that Ministry have given the subversive elements so much time in which to develop and expand their evil Work? Mr. Prakasam exensed its inaction by saying th t his party, itself for long the victim of ordinances, did not want to take the drastic measures that have moreproved inevitable. But he confesses that as a result of their for bearance the situation almost got out of hand.

That is a serious confession for the head of a Ministry to make. Mr. Prakasam ended his statement by saying "It will have to be decided whether such a state of things should be allowed to continue on put a stop to "surely this is a question that decides itself.

The developments described by the Premier emphasise the need for more frequent meetings of the Legislature. The Madras Legislature has notmet met since October 1946. For nearly four months the representatives of the people have been unable to obtain from Government that information about the state of public affairs to which they are entitled And they have been, on the Premier's own showing, four critical months. Too many of the Ministers have been out of the Presidency r long spells, the absences of the Premier been too many and two long. The times,

on his showing, called for his presenc
for his taking the people into his confide
When the ordinance is debated in the Legislat
we trust Mr. Praksam will give an assurance tha
so long as conditions necessitating the ordinanc
exist, be and his colleagues in the Ministry wil
remain on the job in the Presidency.

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REPRESENTATION OF COMMUNITIES.

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14th April, 1947.

The Ministry in Madras will have removed one cause of popular disatisfaction with the administration if it is able to show the communities in the Presidency that they are duly represented in the services. Recent discussions in the legislature have demonstrated that some of the communities, particularly muslims and the Scheduled castes, are not satisfied with the operation of the Government order of 1928 prescribing the number of appointments to be distributed to each of the principal communities. The Governments reply to complaints of under representation of any community has been that its members have been recruited to the extent to which qualified candidates were available, in the proportion laid down in the Communal G.O. But this order needs re-examination as Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliar points out in a latter published.

The rules framed under the command G.O. provide for the representation of communities when appointments are made otherwise than by transfer or promotion, in th ...rtion of 5 Non-Brahmin Hindus, 2 Brahmins 2 ...lims, 2 Christians (including Anglo Indians ... non Asiatics) and, scheduled caste for every ...pointments. This ratio was not, Mr. Muthia

Those whom the
of governing, administering,
the two new Dominions carbed o
develve should approach their ta
and proyerfulness. For they will
guidance if they are to excppe the p
resist the temptations which this speed
power presents. Upon their wisdom and so
judgement will largely rest the future happ
and well being at of some 400,000,000 people.
very number appals. Upkn the rulers of India s
States and their advisers fall new and heavy
responsibilities. They have to decide whether t
choose independence or union with one another o
rhe new dominions.. Some have already made the
choice, others still hesitate. Like many others
in India they find it difficult to estimate with
even approximate accuracy the full consequences
of the change now underway. But time is shor
in about 41 days the transfer will take place
and there can be no dallying, no bargaining su
as delayed, and finally prevented the completi
of the 1935 plan for an Indian Union.

Many of the clauses of the new Indian
Independence Bill are confusingly comprehensiv
but the material ones, those indicating the
and completeness of the transfer of power, ar
They dispose once and for all of the stupid na
that the partition of India is a device for
ening the hold of the British on India. Sec

table in this respect . It
ain of all the powers she exercised
to India, and invests India and
with exactly the same powers as
her Dominions. In other words it
ers on the two new Dominions the complete
ndependence, that absolute freedom from all external interference enjoyed by all the dominions. And, in addition, it gives them the extra strength and the security which comes from membership of a great commonwealth of independent notions linked together for purposes of common defence. India and Pakistan will during the early years of their separate existence, need the strength and protection which membership, of the Common-wealth affords. The world is troubled by a conflict of idealogies. And unless the spirit of compromise is more evident than at present war may become inevitable.

Lord Listowel, who has laboured to hasten the independence of India and Pakistan hopes that hereafter there will be a new partnership between the East and West, which will being healthy results for the whole world. If the two Dominions can give the lead to a saver outlook on human affairs, and demonstrate its worth by the happy compromise of their own differences, th will have served not only

the people of this sub-continent, but also the anxious millions beyond its confiines. For sensi men and women regard with grave apprehension t developing struggle for predominance between idealogies of the Soviet Union and the West Hermisphere. There should be a way to accon their differences. If India and Pakistan, by example, indicate how it can be dome, the wor will be happier and peace more certain.

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ON THE ANVIL.

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9th August, 1947.

India's new constitution is on the anvil, and one who is helping to shape it to the country's needs told a meeting in Madras on Friday something of what has been accomplished in this direction. Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, to give him his new, and still unfamiliar title, is one of this Presidency's representatives in the constituent Assembly. He has helped that body to rectify some of the flow found in the draft constitution represents to it, but as his speech show ed, he still hesitates to be degratic about the new constitution. He refuses to propephsy concerning it, and in that he is wise. All that he will permit himself to say is that any constitution, no matter who frames it, "it what the people make of it". That sounds very much like a platitude, but that it is the simple truth cannot be devied. then the people depute their responsibilities to leaders who lead them astray, as Hilter did Germay, but the Germans can no more escape the ultimate responsibility for putting him in power than the people of India will hereafter be able to evade their responsibility for seeing that the new constitution now being framed in the Constituent Assembly is worked as its frames,

interpreting what they knew of the will o
intended that it should be worked. Another
saams" A people get the Government they des
and it, too, is simple truth.

If the future Government of Indi
in the direction of totalitarianism, wheth
the right, as the Dravidastanis fear, or of
left, as many others apprehend, it will be b
her people are indifferent to their responsib
and unminful of the precautions necessary t
preserve their freedom. "The condition up
God path given liberty to man is eterna
which condition if he break, servitude i
the consequence of his crime, and the p
of his guilt". That remark was made
150 years ago by a distinguished Irishm
as true today as it ever was,

Mr. A.K. Ayyar hinted as much on Fr
Who can say what will be the result of the int
tion adult suffrage in India. He refused to h
a gress, yet insisted that "the key to the whol
constitution is the result which adult suffrage
is going to have on the economic setup of socie
the relations between classes, and the future of
industry". He would, we doubt npt, include
agriculture the industries. Like him, we do no
attempt to foretell the consequences of this
bold innonation, but that it can lead to the de
ment in India of political totalita

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wirst firns us certain. For it gives the glib damagogue with few, if any, scruples abyndant opportunities to full the uninformed but discontented. And never was the time more propitious for such folk. Large parts of India are on the huge fa of famine. Even today the masses do not get nearly enough to eat, and the threat of further cuts, in their rations is increasing discontent, and a readiness to listen to the voice of those who promise more. The illiterate h ave no means of checking the validity of these ises, and, as the multiplicity of ill sed strikes during the past few years has shown, the readiness with which agrarian labour s to revolutionary propaganda indicates, fall easy victim to the plansible agitattor.

The framer of the constitution cannot protect the masses against such, but they could have prevented their being exploited by those seeking to grasp the ruins of Government by refusing to lower the franchise to a level which makes the character and content of India's future legislatures depend upon the vote of the illiterate masses. Mrr A.K. Ayyar seems to entertain some such view, for he seems to have accepted adult suffrage not as soemthing in itself deseirable, but inevitable

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"Whether one likes it or not", he said on Friday, the people and the Congress ane committed, to it" We are not so certain that the people were committe to it, the party was, and that was the deciding fa So adult suffrage has, in Mr. A.K. Ayyars words become "the cardinal feature of the constitution". It introduces uncertainities about which more done propesy, but all must hope that the robust common sense of the masses will prevail, and that they wil not be carried away by plansible propaganda cunning presented.

DIVIDING THE PRESIDENCY.

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8th September, 1947.

Now that India is self governing, with a Congress Ministry at the centre, it is inevitable that demands for the fulfilment of party promises that distinct linquistic areas should be constituted into seperate autonomous units should be heard. Nor will those who make them be silenced by Sardear Patels warning that the present is not the time to prefer their claims. They contend, and not without reason, that unless they put forward their demands for the fulfilment of Party pleges now, while the constitutional position is in a state of flux, the natural conservatism, of an established regime will delay, if it does not present, the satisfaction of their claims. So they insist that the redistribution of the Provinces for which they ask should be made now, before the units of the new union of India are officially designated in the written constitution, and before inhibiting procedents are created.

They do well to lake this stand. If they had failed to do so they would have prejudicied their case. We do not doubt that Mr. T. kasam had this in mind when discussing the rmation of an Andhra Province with the Congress rchy and members of the centre Ministry in lhi. He has come back confident, ~~that~~

that the Andhras claim will be met. "I cannot divulge the substance of the talks I had with leaders of the country at New Delhi", he told Andhra Provincial Political Conference on Sunda "but I can assure you that I have given my attention to all aspects of the questionsm and t resolution before us is the only way to achiev an Andhra Province without delay". The resolut which he referred defined in general terms the territory included in the proposed Andhra Provinc and left the vexed question of the future of the city of Madras to be decided by a boundary Commiss providing that for the present the city and its environs be joint Tamil Andhra territory.

The majority at the Conference, however, ... position concerning ... the resolution ... ndhra

if pleasant, pastime by Mr. K. Kamaraj Nadar who declared that there could be no question of any one preventing the formation of a seperate Tamil Province since Tamilians do not object to the formation of other linguistic Provinces. All they object to, apparently, is the placing of boundaries of such Provinces, where their protegonists would set them. And Mr. Kamaraj Nadar argues that the Andhra claim to the city of Madras has no historical support, for history revealed that Madras belonged to Tamilians. When Francis Day began to build his small fort on the banks of the Cooum he little kn[torn] what problems he was cre[torn] fo[torn]

For[torn]

INDIAN INDEPENDENCE BILL
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th July, 1947.

"A New chapter opens in which every bestige of British rule is swept away." This is the best description of the Indian Independence Bill we have yet encountered, and the most accurate. For the Bill does most completely transfer to Indian and Muslim hands all power in what is still the "appointed day" - British India. Nothing is reserved. All is surrendered. Even the kings be to, still constitutionally enforceable in the United Kingdom. Will go on the "aapointed day". And with the power goes responsibility. Into Indian and Muslim hands are entrusted the defence, the security, the peace and tranquility of the great land. Upon them will rest the obligation of seeing that aboriginals, the under privileged, the Depressed, and all who need the special care, and attention of bevenolent authority, are cared for according to their need. The change is more than ~~itowards~~ 'tremendous'. It is epochal. The Times, holds that "It is entirely appropriate at he short little of the proposed inactment be "The Indian Independence Act", and at "with the choice made free, the connexion will not be wholly abandoned".

Mudaliar argues, meant for all time,
compromise between the dains of communi
which either predominated in the Service
under represented or unrepresented. It i
to know that the Ministry proposes to remis
ratio of appointments so as to provide for
representation of Scheduled castes more nea
relation to their numerical strength. But
claims of their aggrieved communities, inclu
the backward communities, including the back
communities now grouped with Non-Brahmins, s
also be considered, and it will be useful if
Ministry published its proposals for the re
of the present basis of representation early
that the communities may express their opinio

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and new and old Delhi, a city apart, or whether it to develop as the capital or a territory one half, or one third, as big, as that, it now serves. One thing is certain, that neither the capital nor the Presidency is benefited by the prolongation of pres contentions. The sooner the linguistic Provinces are formed the better for all concerned.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE "MAIL"

...

THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

Dated/20th May, 1901.

In the Madras Provincial Conference, which opened today at Madura, Conduct its proceddings in the moderate and practical spirit which distinguishes the inaugural Address of the President, the Hon'ble Mr. Ananda Charlu, C.I.E., it will establish a good right t a careful and patient hearing. The contrast between the inagural Address of Mr. N.N. Ghose at the Bengal Provincial Conference at Midnapore a week on too ago and that of Mr. Ananda Charlu ~~of~~ at Madras today is very striking indeed Mr. Ghose's utterance was one long complaint against the Government, Chiefly because the higher official oppoitments are not being more liberally ... s whole tumour from begining ... of the educated and

every day realities to the vastly preponderating majority. When we remember that scarcely 5 percent of the population of India is found in aggregates of ~~22~~ 20,000 and over, that these aggregates lie at an average distance of 90 miles from each other, that the bulk of the people one village folk whose villages have a mean population of no move than 360 each, it is easy to understand that so far as India is concerned the village polity is the empire polity. Passing by Mr. Ananda Charlu's eloguent and warm hearted tributes to the late queen-Empress and the reigning King Emperor and also his/~~ease~~ useful remarks concerning the constitution and organisation of Congressmen, Provincial Conferences and District conferences, we come to the main [illegible] of his Address, in which he [illegible] questions that are i[illegible]

e attempt on the part of the leaders to meet it by ganising Industrial Exhibitions as an adjunct to the litical movement has only diverted the current of pular criticism for the time being. During the three ears, this new movement has been developing, the eeling of dissatisfaction alluded to by Mr. Gokhale n regard to the practical utility of the Congress has been kept continuously in the background, but it is bound to reasset itself in the near future, when people begin to seriously face the situation and recall the futility of past political agitation. No one will for a moment deny the usefulness of wholesome and well-intentioned criticisms of the acts of Government in Indi ut are the criticisms of Congress politicians of this ature, and have congressmen as a body evinced any real esire to actively help Government with sober, well easoned and practical suggestions for effecting nprovements? Far from this being their attitude, they have generally reppesented the Government of India and officials as their political opponents, and have to frequently misrepresented their acts and motive The Government of India, at any rate since t of Lord Curzon, have counted popular op advice on administrative matters, an ore than ever before have Congres sincerity of their motives and th urpose.

This attitude of unf or the mass of the ignorant I ovoked any want of sympathy in

On the other hand, the criticisms and suggest
of prominent leaders like Mr. Gokhale and Sir
Mehta are listened to with respect, and given
to wherever and whenever the exisgencies of ad
tration permit. That these gentlemen are resp
and admired for their independence of characte
the ability of their constr ctive criticism is
by the official honours that have been conferre
them. But how many are there is the rank and
the Congressmovement who are as well informed a
conscious of their responsibility to the people
the Government alike as Mr. Gokhale and Sir P.
Mr. Gokhale's solicity of expression which is
in the utterances of the majority of Congress
agitations.

brilliant member of the Native Bar in Madras, and ha
enjoyed a uniquely extensive and lucrative practice.
has also for many years enjoyed the confidence of
ment, which has more than once selected him to offi
the responsible office of Advocate General. It is a
open secret, too, that unofficially his advice and a
have been frequently sought by the Government especia
the Court of wards, in its legislation and litigation
His permanent appointment to the Bench will, we fed su
be well received by all sections of the legal profes

"Political privileges are no more a soluation of India, than industrial progress is a panacca for all her ills. The critics of political agitations are right in so far as they point to an absence of earnest effort, wherever it is lacking, in other directions of national progress. It behaves us as persons interested in the well being of the Country to take note of the criticism and to rouse the national energy in all spheses of activity." But here comes the rule, namely the extraordinary lack of organising power amongst educated Indians, and the still more marked absence of staying power in continuing public work of a political or social nature. Mr. Iyer e these defects as with a surgeon's knife, and hesitate to contrast the organisation and meml e the furasion and Anglo-Indian

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EXTRACT FROM THE "MADRAS MAIL".
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THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.
...

20th June, 1906.

Mr. V. Krishnaswamy Iyer, the Chairman of th Madras Provincial Conference, is in the front rank of High Court Vakils of Madras; but as a rule he takes a active and prominent part in public movements than h talents, status and political convictions world seem justify. Yet he is of the stuff that real political leaders are made of. He is not a mere damagogue and windbag, seeking popular applause on every occasion an by every means . . . In other ways and on other casions Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer has shown the bent of activities to be practical rather than historical. bly in the large and generous donati

THE HON'BLE MR. K. VASUDEVA IYENGAR.

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11th March, 1903.

We learn from Todays gazette that His Excellency the Governor has selected Mr. Kodiyalam V. Iyengar for nomination as a non-official. Additiona[l] of the Legislative council. The selection is a happy Mr. Vasudeva Iyengar is a Comparatively young man, being only about 35 years of age, and belongs to a wea[lthy] and ancient family which has settled down in Srirangam. He owns extensive landed property both in the Trichino[poly] District and in the neighbouring District of Tanjore. He has received an English Education upto the B.A. sta[ndard] and is a fairly good English scholar. He is held in great esteem by all classes in the Southern Districts. He will be an excellent representative in the Legislati[ve] Council of the numerous class of Government ryots and a[gri]culturists, the Maharaja of Bobbili, who is already in t[he] Council, worthily representing the arstacratic landholde[rs] Zamindars. Mr. Vasudeva Iyengar has for several years been an active member of the District Board of Trichinopo[ly] and takes a prominent part in all local public movements. He is essentially an orthodox brahmin and his views, [t]herefore, on social and public questions are more conser[vati]ve than radical.

Since the selection by Sir M.E. Grant-Duf[f] of Sir S. Subramanya Iyer, who was then prac[tising] ...il in his native District of Madura, no on[e] ...ll has up to now been similarly honou[red] ...mination except representatives ...he Northern Districts; and the p[resent] [Va]sudeva Iyengar is sure to give ...dholders in the South...

st time, will have a representative in the Council.
have no doubt that he will prove in every way worthly
the high honour that has been conferred on him, and
ill be found useful both to the Government and the
public in connection with questions and measures which
may come up before the Council affecting the interests
of Government ryots. We believe that on more than
one occasion Mr. K. Vasudeva Iyengar was passed to stand
for election as a representative of either the Southern
District Boards or Municipalities, but that as competition w
with Pleaders is well high a hopeless task, he refraid
from competing with them.

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